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Hono. Franciscus Bacon? Baro de Verulam Vice
Comitis S^{us} Albani mortuus 9^o Aprilis A^o 1626^o
Aetate suae 66.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REIGNS

OF

{ HENRY the SEVENTH,
HENRY the EIGHTH,
EDWARD the SIXTH,
AND
QUEEN MARY.

Reign

The First Written by the Right Honourable,

F R A N C I S

Lord V E R U L A M, Viscount S t. A L B A N.

The other Three by the Right Honourable

A N D

Right Reverend Father in God,

F R A N C I S G O D W Y N,

Lord Bishop of H E R E F O R D.

L O N D O N,

Printed by W. G. for R. Scot, T. Bassett, J. Wright, R. Chiswell,
and J. Edwyn. M. D C. LXXVI.

THE HISTORY

OF THE

REIGN OF
HIS MOST
EXCELLENT
MAGESTY
KING
JAMES
THE FIRST
BY
JAMES
HARRISON
OF
THE
MIDDLE
TEMPLE
ESQ;
IN TWO VOLUMES.
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Church Lane.
1633.




To the most Illustrious and most Excellent.

P R I N C E,

CHARLES,

Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*,
Earl of *Chester*, &c.

It may Please Your Highness,

 N part of my acknowledgment to *Your Highness*, I have endeavoured to do *Honour* to the *Memory* of the last *King* of *England*, that was *Ancestour* to the *King* your *Father*, and *Your self*; and was that *King* to whom both *Unions* may in a sort refer: That of the *Roses* being in him Consummate, and that of the *Kingdoms* by him begun. Besides, his *times* deserve it. For he was a *Wise Man*, and an *Excellent King*; and yet the times were rough, and full of Mutations and rare Accidents. And it is with *Times*, as it is with *Ways*. Some are

The Epistle Dedicatory.

more *Up-hill* and *Down-hill*, and some are more *Flat* and *Plain*; and the *One* is better for the *Liver*, and the *Other* for the *Writer*. I have not flattered him, but took him to life as well as I could, sitting so far off, and having no better light. It is true, *Your Highness* hath a *Living Pattern*, *Incomparable*, of the *King Your Father*. But it is not amiss for *You* also to see one of these *Ancient Pieces*. *God* preserve *Your Highness*.

Your Highness most humble

and devoted Servant,

FRANCIS St. Alban.

A N

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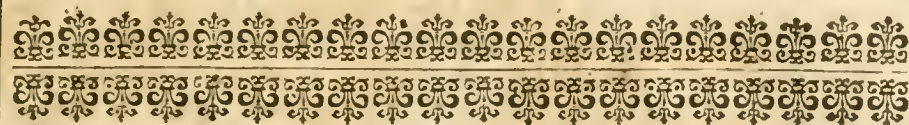
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T H E
H I S T O R Y
Of the Reign of K I N G
H E N R Y
The S E V E N T H.



fter that *Richard* the Third of that Name, King in Fact only, but Tyrant both in Title and Regiment, and so commonly termed and reputed in all-times since, was by the *Divine Revenge*, favouring the Design of an Exil'd man, overthrown and slain at *Bosworth-field*: There succeeded in the Kingdom the Earl of *Richmond*, thence-forth stiled *Henry* the Seventh.

The King immediately after the Victory, as one that had been bred under a devout Mother, and was in his nature, a great observer of Religious Forms, caused *Te Deum Laudamus* to be solemnly sung in the presence of the whole Army upon the place, and was himself with general Applause, and great Cries of Joy, in a kind of *Militar Election*, or *Recognition*, saluted King. Mean-while the Body of *Richard*, after many Indignities and Reproaches (the *Dirigies* and *Obsequies* of the common People towards *Tyrants*) was obscurely Buried: For though the King of his Nobleness gave charge unto the *Fryers* of *Leicester* to see an Honourable Interment to be given to it, yet the *Religious people* themselves (being not free from the Humours of the *Vulgar*) neglected it; wherein nevertheless they did not then incur any mans blame or Censure. No man thinking any Ignominy or Contumely unworthy of him, that had been the Executioner of King *Henry* the Sixth (that innocent Prince) with his own

hands; the Contriver of the death of the Duke of *Clarence*, his Brother; the Murderer of his two *Nephews* (one of them his Lawfull King in the Present, and the other in the Future failing of him) and vehemently suspected to have been the Impoisoner of his Wife, thereby to make vacant his Bed, for a Marriage within the *Degrees forbidden*. And although he were a Prince in Militar Virtue approved, jealous of the Honour of the *English Nation*, and likewise a good *Law-maker*, for the ease and solace of the common People: yet his Cruelties and Parricides, in the Opinion of all men, weighed down his Virtues and Merits; and in the opinion of Wise men, even those Virtues themselves were conceived to be rather feigned, and *affected* things to serve his Ambition, than true *Qualities* ingenrate in his Judgement or Nature. And therefore it was noted by men of great Understanding, (who seeing his after Acts, looked back upon his former Proceedings) that even in the time of King *Edward* his Brother, he was not without secret *Trains* and *Mines* to turn Envy and Hatred upon his Brother's Government; as having an Expectation and a kind of Divination, that the King, by reason of his many Disorders, could not be of long Life, but was like to leave his Sonnes of tender years; and then he knew well, how casie a step it was, from the place of a *Protector*, and first *Prince* of the *Blood*, to the Crown. And that out of this deep root of Ambition it sprang, that as well at the Treaty of Peace that passed between *Edward* the Fourth, and *Lewis* the Eleventh of *France*, concluded by Enterview of both Kings at *Piqueny*, as upon all other Occasions, *Richard* then Duke of *Glocester*, stood ever upon the side of Honour, raising his own Reputation to the disadvantage of the King his Brother, and drawing the eyes of all (specially of the *Nobles* and *Soldiers*) upon himself, as if the King by his voluptuous Life and mean Marriage, were become Effeminate, and less sensible of Honour, and Reason of State, than was fit for a King. And as for the Politique and wholesome *Laws* which were Enacted in his Time, they were interpreted to be but the Brocage of an *Usurper*, thereby to wooe, and winne the Hearts of the People; as being conscious to himself that the true Obligations of *Soveraignty* in him failed, and were wanting. But King *Henry* in the very entrance of his Reign, and the instant of time, when the Kingdom was cast into his Arms, met with a Point of great difficulty, and knotty to solve, able to trouble and confound the Wisest King in the newness of his Estate; and so much the more, because it could not endure a *Deliberation*, but must be at once deliberated and determined. There were fallen to his Lot, and concurrent to his Person, three several *Titles* to the Imperial Crown: The first, the Title of the Lady *Elizabeth*, with whom, by precedent Pact with the Party that brought him in, he was to Marry. The second, the Antient
and

and long disputed Title (both by *Plea* and *Arms*) of the House of *Lancaster*; to which he was Inheritour in his own Person: The third, the Title of the *Sword* or *Conquest*, for that he came in by Victory of Battel, and that the King in possession was slain in the field. The first of these was fairest, and most like to give contentment to the People, who by Two and twenty Years Reign of King *Edward* the Fourth, had been fully made capable of the cleanness of the Title of the *White-Rose* or House of *Tork*; and by the milde and plausible Reign of the same King toward his latter time, were become affectionate to that *Line*. But then it lay plain before his Eyes, that if he relyed upon that *Title*, he could be but a King at *Curtessie*, and have rather a *Matrimonial* than a *Regal* Power: the Right remaining in his *Queen*, upon whose decease, either with Issue, or without Issue, he was to give place, and be removed. And though he should obtain by *Parliament* to be continued, yet he knew there was a very great difference between a King that holdeth his Crown by a civil Act of *Estates*, and one that holdeth it Originally by the Law of *Nature*, and Descent of Blood. Neither wanted there even at that time secret Rumors and whisperings (which afterwards gathered strength, and turned to great Troubles) that the two young Sons of King *Edward* the Fourth, or one of them (which were said to be destroyed in the Tower) were not indeed Murthered, but conveyed secretly away, and were yet living: which if it had been true, had prevented the Title of the Lady *Elizabeth*. On the other side, if he stood upon his own Title of the House of *Lancaster*, inherent in his Person; he knew it was a Title condemned by *Parliament*, and generally prejudged in the common Opinion of the Realm, and that it tended directly to the Dis-inherison of the Line of *Tork*, held then the indubiate Heirs of the Crown. So that if he should have no Issue by the Lady *Elizabeth*, which should be Descendents of the *Double-Line*, then the Ancient flames of Discord and Intestine Wars, upon the Competition of both Houses, would again return and revive. As for *Conquest* notwithstanding, Sir *William Stanley*, after some Acclamations of the Soldiers in the Field, had put a Crown of Ornament (which *Richard* wore in the Battel, and was found amongst the Spoils) upon King *Henry's* Head, as if there were his chief Title; yet he remembered well upon what Conditions and Agreements he was brought in, and that to claim as *Conqueror*, was to put as well his own Party, as the rest, into Terror and Fear; as that which gave him Power of Disannulling of Laws, and disposing of Mens Fortunes and Estates, and the like points of Absolute Power, being in themselves so harsh and odious, as that *William* himself, commonly called the *Conqueror*, however he used and exercised the Power of a *Conqueror*, to reward his *Normans*, yet he forbore to use that Claim in the be-

ginning, but mixed it with a Titulary pretence grounded upon the *Will* and Designation of *Edward the Confessor*. But the King out of the greatness of his own mind, presently cast the Die, and the Inconveniencies appearing unto him on all parts; and knowing there could not be any *Interreign* or suspension of Title; and preferring his Affection to his own Line and Blood, and liking that Title best which made him independent; and being in his Nature and constitution of Mind not very apprehensive or forecasting of future Events a-far off, but an Entertainer of Fortune by the Day, resolved to rest upon the Title of *Lancaster* as the *Main*, and to use the other two, that of *Marriage*, and that of *Battel*, but as *Supporters*, the one to appease secret Discontents, and the other to beat down open murmur and dispute: Not forgetting that the same Title of *Lancaster* had formerly maintained a possession of three Descents in the Crown, and might have proved a *Perpetuity*, had it not ended in the weakness and inability of the last Prince. Whereupon the King presently that very day, being the Two and Twentieth of *August*, assumed the Stile of King in his own name, without mentioning of the Lady *Elizabeth* at all, or any relation thereunto. In which course he ever after persisted, which did spin him a Thread of many Seditions and Troubles. The King full of these thoughts, before his departure from *Leicester*, dispatched Sir *Robert Willoughby* to the Castle of *Sheriff-Hutton* in *Yorkshire*, where were kept in safe Custody by King *Richard's* commandment, both the Lady *Elizabeth* Daughter of King *Edward*, and *Edward Plantagenet*, Son and Heir to *George Duke of Clarence*. This *Edward* was by the King's Warrant delivered from the Constable of the Castle to the hand of Sir *Robert Willoughby*; and by him with all safety and diligence conveyed to the Tower of *London*, where he was shut up *Close-prisoner*. Which Act of the King's (being an Act merely of Policy and Power) proceeded not so much from any apprehension he had of Doctor *Shaw's* Tale at *Paul's Cross*, for the Bastarding of *Edward* the Fourth's Issues, in which case this young Gentleman was to succeed, (for that Fable was ever exploded) but upon a settled disposition to depress all Eminent Persons of the Line of *York*. Wherein still the King out of strength of Will, or weakness of Judgement, did use to shew a little more of the *Party*, than of the *King*.

For the Lady *Elizabeth* she received also a direction to repair with all convenient speed to *London*, and there to remain with the Queen Dowager her Mother; which accordingly she soon after did, accompanied with many Noble-men and Ladies of Honour. In the mean season the King set forwards by easie Journeys to the City of *London*, receiving the Acclamations and Applauses of the People as he went, which indeed were true and unfeigned, as might well appear in the very Demonstrations and fulness of the Cry.

Cry. For they thought generally that he was a *Prince* as ordained and sent down from Heaven, to unite and put to an end to the long Dissentions of the two Houses, which although they had had in the times of *Henry* the Fourth, *Henry* the Fifth, and a part of *Henry* the Sixth on the one side, and the times of *Edward* the Fourth on the other, *Lucid-Intervalls* and happy Pauses; yet they did ever hang over the *Kingdom*, ready to break forth into new Perturbations and Calamities. And as his Victory gave him the *Knee*, so his purpose of Marriage with the Lady *Elizabeth* gave him the *Heart*; so that both *Knee* and *Heart* did truly bow before him.

He on the other side, with great Wisdom, (not ignorant of the Affections and Fears of the People) to disperse the conceit and terrour of a *Conquest*, had given Order that there should be nothing in his Journey like unto a Warlike March, or manner; but rather like unto the *Progress* of a King in full Peace and Assurance.

He entred the City upon a *Saturday*, as he had also obtained the Victory upon a *Saturday*, which Day of the Week first upon an Observation, and after upon Memory and Fancy, he accounted and chose as a Day prosperous unto him.

The *Mayor* and *Companies* of the City received him at *Shoreditch*: whence, with great and Honorable attendance and troops of Noble-men, and Persons of Quality he entred the City; himself not being on Horse-back, or in any open *Chair*, or *Throne*, but in a close *Chariot*, as one that having been sometimes an Enemy to the whole State, and a Proscribed person, chose rather to keep State, and strike a Reverence into the People, than to fawn upon them.

He went first into *Saint Paul's Church*, where not meaning that the People should forget too soon that he came in by Battel, he made an Offertory of his *Standards*, and had *Orizon* and *Te Deum* again sung, and went to his Lodging prepared in the *Bishop* of *London's Palace*, where he stayed for a time.

During his abode there, he Assembled his *Council*, and other principal Persons, in presence of whom; he did renew again his promise to marry with the Lady *Elizabeth*. This he did the rather, because having at his coming out of *Britain* given artificially, for serving of his own turn, some hopes, in case he obtained the Kingdome, to Marry *Anne* Inheritress to the Dutchy of *Britain*, whom *Charles* the Eighth of *France* soon after Married. It bred some doubt and suspition amongst divers, that he was not sincere, or at least not fixed in going on with the Match of *England* so much desired: which Conceit also, though it were but Talk and Discourse, did much afflict the poor Lady *Elizabeth* her self. But howsoever he both truly intended it, and desired also it should be so believed, (the better to extinguish
Envy

Envy and Contradiction to his other purposes) yet was he resolved in himself not to proceed to the Consummation thereof, till his *Coronation* and a *Parliament* were past. The one, left a joynt-*Coronation* of himself and his *Queen* might give any countenance of Participation of Title: The other, left in the Intayling of the *Crown* to himself, which he hoped to obtain by *Parliament*, the Votes of the *Parliament* might any ways reflect upon her.

About this time in *Autumn*, towards the end of *September*, there began and reigned in the City and other parts of the Kingdom a *Disease* then new; which of the Accidents, and manner thereof, they called the *Sweating-Sickness*. This *Disease* had a swift course both in the *Sick-Body* and in the *Time* and Period of the lasting thereof: for they that were taken with it, upon Four and twenty Hours escaping were thought almost assured. And as to the *Time* of the malice and reign of the *Disease* e're it ceased, It began about the One and twentieth of *September*, and cleared up before the end of *October*, insomuch that it was no hinderance to the King's *Coronation*, which was the last of *October*: nor (which was more) to the holding of the *Parliament*, which began but seven days after. It was a *Pestilent-Feaver*, but, as it seemeth, not seated in the Veins or Humors, for that there followed no *Carbuncle*, no purple or livid Spots, or the like, the Mass of the Body being not tainted: only a malign *Vapour* flew to the Heart, and seized the *Vital Spirits*, which stirred Nature to strive to send it forth by an extreme Sweat. And it appeared by Experience that this *Disease* was rather a Surprise of Nature, than obstinate to Remedies, if it were in time looked unto. For if the *Patient* were kept in an equal temper, both for Clothes, Fire, and Drink, moderately warm, with temperate Cordials, whereby Natures work were neither irritated by *Heat*, nor turned back by *Cold*, he commonly Recovered. But infinite Persons dyed suddenly of it, before the manner of the Cure and attendance was known. It was conceived not to be an *Epidemick* *Disease*, but to proceed from a Malignity in the Constitution of the Air, gathered by the predispositions of Seasons: and the speedy Cessation declared as much.

On *Simon* and *Jude's* Even the King dined with *Thomas Bourcchier*, *Arch-Bishop* of *Canterbury* and *Cardinal*: and from *Lambeth* went by Land over the Bridge to the Tower, where the morrow after he made Twelve *Knights-Bannerets*. But for *Creations* he dispensed them with a sparing Hand. For notwithstanding a Field so lately fought, and a *Coronation* so near at hand, he only created Three: *James* Earl of *Pembroke* (the King's Uncle) was created Duke of *Bedford*; *Thomas* the Lord *Stanley* (the King's Father-in-Law) Earl of *Derby*; and *Edward Courtney* Earl of *Devon*; though the King had then nevertheless a purpose in himself to make more in time of *Parliament*; bearing a wife and decent respect

respect to Distribute his *Creations*, some to honour his *Coronation*, and some his *Parliament*.

The *Coronation* followed two days after upon the Thirtyeth day of *October* in the year of our Lord 1485. At which time *Innocent* the Eighth was *Pope* of *Rome*, *Frederick* the Third, *Emperour* of *Almaine*; and *Maximilian* his Son newly chosen King of the *Romans*; *Charles* the Eighth, King of *France*; *Ferdinando* and *Isabella*, Kings of *Spain*; and *James* the Third, King of *Scotland*: with all which Kings and States, the King was at that time in good Peace and Amity. At which Day also (as if the Crown upon his Head, had put Perils into his Thoughts) he did institute for the better Security of his Person a Band of Fifty *Archers* under a *Captain* to attend him, by the name of *Yeomen* of his *Guard*: and yet that it might be thought to be rather a matter of *Dignity*, after the imitation of that he had known abroad, than any matter of *Diffidence* appropriate to his own Case, he made it to be understood for an *Ordinance* not Temporary, but to hold in Succession for ever after.

The Seventh of *November* the King held his *Parliament* at *Westminster*, which he had Summoned immediately after his coming to *London*. His Ends in calling a *Parliament* (and that so speedily) were chiefly three; *First*, to procure the Crown to be entayled upon himself. *Next*, to have the Attaindors of all of his Party (which were in no small Number) reversed, and all Acts of Hostility by them done in his Quarrel, remitted and discharged: and on the other side, to attain by *Parliament*, the *Heads* and *Principals* of his Enemies. The *Third*, to calm and quiet the fears of the rest of that Party by a *General Pardon*: not being ignorant in how great danger a King stands from his Subjects, when most of his Subjects are conscious in themselves, that they stand in his danger. Unto these three special Motives of a *Parliament* was added, that he as a prudent and moderate *Prince*, made this Judgement; That it was fit for him to hasten to let his People see, that he meant to govern by *Law*, howsoever he came in by the *Sword*: and fit also to reclaim them to know him for their King, whom they had so lately talked of as an *Enemy* or *Banished man*. For that which concerned the Entayling of the *Crown*; (more than that he was true in his own Will, that he would not endure any mention of the Lady *Elizabeth*: no not in the nature of *Special-Intail*,) he carried it otherwise with great Wisdom and measure. For he did not press to have the *Act* penned by way of *Declaration* or *Recognition* of Right: as on the other side, he avoided to have it by new *Law* or *Ordinance*; but chose rather a kind of middle-way, by way of *Establishment*, and that under covert and indifferent words; *That the inheritance of the Crown should rest, remain, and abide in the King*, &c. which words might equally be applied; That the Crown should continue
to

to him: but whether as having former Right to it, (which was doubtful,) or having it then in Fact and Possession, (which no man denyed,) was left fair to Interpretation either way. And again for the limitation of the *Entail*, he did not press it to go further than to himself and to the *Heirs* of his Body, not speaking of his *right Heirs*; but leaving that to the Law to decide: so as the *Entail* might seem rather a personal Favour to him and his Children, than a total Dis-inherison to the House of *York*. And in this form was the Law drawn and passed. Which *Statute* he procured to be confirmed by the *Pope's Bull* the year following, with mention nevertheless (by way of Recital) of his other Titles; both of *Descent* and *Conquest*. So as now the wreath of *Three* was made a wreath of *Five*, for to the three first Titles of the two Houses, or Lines, and *Conquest*, were added two more; the Authorities *Parliamentary* and *Papal*.

The King likewise in the *Reversal* of the Attaindors of his *Partakers*, and discharging them of all Offences incident to his service and succour, had his Will: and Acts did pass accordingly. In the passage whereof, exception was taken to divers Persons in the House of *Commons*, for that they were Attainted, and thereby not legal, nor habilitate to serve in *Parliament*, being disabled in the highest degree; And that it should be a great incongruity to have them to make *Laws*, who themselves were not *Inlawed*. The truth was, that divers of those which had in the time of King *Richard* been strongest and most declared for the King's Party, were returned *Knights* and *Burgesses* for the *Parliament*, whether by care or recommendation from the *State*, or the voluntary inclination of the *People*: many of which had been by *Richard* the Third attainted by *Outlawries*, or otherwise. The King was somewhat troubled with this. For though it had a grave and specious Shew, yet it reflected upon his Party. But wisely not shewing himself at all moved therewith, he would not understand it but as a *Case of Law*; and wished the *Judges* to be advised thereupon: who for that purpose were forthwith Assembled in the *Exchequer-Chamber*, (which is the *Council-Chamber* of the *Judges*,) and upon deliberation they gave a grave and safe *Opinion* and *Advice*, mixed with *Law* and *Convenience*; which was, That the *Knights* and *Burgesses* attainted by the course of Law, should forbear to come into the House, 'till a Law were passed for the *Reversal* of their *Attaindors*.

It was at that time incidently moved amongst the *Judges* in their Consultation, what should be done for the King himself, who likewise was attainted; But it was with unanimous consent Resolved, That the *Crown* takes away all defects and stops in Blood: and that from the time the King did assume the *Crown*, the *Fountain* was cleared, and all *Attaindors* and Corruption of Blood discharged. But nevertheless for *Honours* sake it was Ordained by *Parliament*,
that

that all *Records* wherein there was any memory, or mention of the King's *Attaindor*, should be defaced, cancelled, and taken off the *File*.

But on the part of the King's *Enemies* there were by *Parliament* attainted; the late Duke of *Glocester*, calling himself *Richard* the Third, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Surrey*, Viscount *Lovel*, the Lord *Ferrers*, the Lord *Zouch*, *Richard Ratcliff*, *William Catesby*, and many others of degree and quality. In which Bills of *Attaindors*, nevertheless there were contained many just and temperate *Clauses*, *Savings* and *Proviso's*, well shewing and foretoking the Wisdom, Stay, and Moderation of the King's Spirit of Government. And for the *Pardon* of the rest, that had stood against the King; the King, upon a second advice, thought it not fit it should pass by *Parliament*, the better (being matter of Grace) to impropriate the Thanks to himself: using only the Opportunity of a *Parliament* time, the better to disperse it into the *Veins* of the *Kingdom*. Therefore during the *Parliament*, he Published his *Royal Proclamation*, offering *Pardon* and Grace of Restitution, to all such as had taken *Arms*, or been participant of any Attempts against him; so as they submitted themselves to his Mercy by a Day, and took the Oath of *Allegiance* and *Fidelity* to him. Whereupon many came out of *Sanctuary*, and many more came out of *Fear*, no less guilty than those that had taken *Sanctuary*.

As for *Money* or *Treasure*, the King thought it not seasonable, or fit to demand any of his *Subjects* at this *Parliament*: both because he had received satisfaction from them in matters of so great Importance, and because he could not remunerate them with any *General Pardon*, being prevented therein by the *Coronation-Pardon*, passed immediately before: but chiefly, for that it was in every mans Eye, what great *Forfeitures* and *Confiscations* he had at that present to help himself: Whereby those *Casualties* of the Crown might in reason spare the Purses of his Subjects; especially in a time when he was in Peace with all his Neighbours. Some few *Laws* passed at that *Parliament*, almost for form sake: amongst which there was *One*, to reduce Aliens, being made Denizens, to pay Strangers Customs; and another, to draw to himself the *Seisures* and *Compositions* of *Italian Goods*, for not employment, being Points of Profit to his Coffers, whereof from the very Beginning he was not forgetful; and had been more happy at the Latter End, if his early Providence (which kept him from all necessity of Exacting upon his People) could likewise have attempt'ed his nature therein. He added during *Parliament*, to his former *Creations*, the *Innoblement* or Advancement in *Nobility* of a few others: The Lord *Chandos* of *Britain*, was made Earl of *Bath*; and Sir *Giles Dawbeny* was made Lord *Dawbeny*; and Sir *Robert Willoughby* Lord *Brook*.

The King did also with great Nobleness and Bounty (which Virtues at that time had their turns in his Nature) restore *Edward Stafford* (eldest Son to *Henry*, Duke of *Buckingham*, attainted in the time of King *Richard*,) not only to his *Dignities*, but to his *Fortunes* and *Possessions*, which were great; to which he was moved also by a kind of Gratitude, for that the Duke was the man that moved the first Stone against the Tyranny of King *Richard*, and indeed made the King a Bridge to the Crown upon his own Ruins. Thus the *Parliament* brake up.

The *Parliament* being dissolved, the King sent forthwith Money to redeem the Marquess *Dorset*, and Sir *John Bourchier*, whom he had left as his Pledges at *Paris*, for Money which he had borrowed, when he made his Expedition for *England*. And thereupon he took a fit occasion to send the Lord *Treasurer* and Master *Bray* (whom he used as Counsellor) to the Lord *Mayor* of *London*, requiring of the City a Prest of six thousand Marks: But after many *Parlees*, he could obtain but two thousand Pounds. Which nevertheless the King took in good part; as men use to do, that practise to borrow Money when they have no need. About this time, the King called unto his Privy-Council, *John Morton*, and *Richard Fox*, the one *Bishop* of *Ely*, the other *Bishop* of *Exeter*, vigilant men, and secret, and such as kept watch with him almost upon all men else. They had been both versed in his Affairs before he came to the Crown, and were partakers of his adverse Fortune. This *Morton* soon after upon the death of *Bourchier*, he made *Archbishop* of *Canterbury*. And for *Fox*, he made him Lord *Keeper* of his *Privy-Seal*, and afterwards advanced him by Degrees, from *Exeter* to *Bath* and *Wells*, thence to *Durham*, and last to *Winchester*. For although the King loved to employ and advance *Bishops*, because having rich *Bishopricks* they carried their Reward upon themselves: yet he did use to raise them by steps; that he might not lose the profit of the *First-fruits*, which by that course of Gradation was multiplied.

At last, upon the Eighteenth of *January* was Solemnized the so long expected and so much desired Marriage, between the King and the Lady *Elizabeth*: which Day of Marriage was celebrated with greater Triumph, and Demonstrations (especially on the Peoples part) of Joy and Gladness, than the days either of his Entry, or Coronation; which the King rather noted, than liked. And it is true, that all his life time, while the Lady *Elizabeth* lived with him, (for she dyed before him) he shewed himself no very indulgent Husband towards her, though she was beautiful, gentle, and fruitful. But his aversion towards the House of *York* was so predominant in him, as it found place, not only in his *Wars* and *Councils*, but in his *Chamber* and *Bed*.

Towards the middle of the *Spring*, the King, full of confidence and

and assurance, as a *Prince* that had been Victorious in *Battel*, and had prevailed with his *Parliament* in all that he desired, and had the *Ring* of *Acclamations* fresh in his Ears, thought the rest of his Reign should be but Play, and the enjoying of a *Kingdom*. Yet as a wise and watchful King, he would not neglect any thing for his Safety; thinking nevertheless to perform all things now, rather as an *Exercise*, than as a *Labour*. So he being truly informed, that the *Northern parts* were not only Affectionate to the House of *York*, but particularly had been Devoted to King *Richard* the Third, thought it would be a Summer well spent to visit those *Parts*, and by his presence and application of himself, to reclaim and rectify those Humours. But the King, in his accompt of *Peace*, and *Calms*, did much overcast his Fortunes, which proved for many Years together full of *Broken Seas*, *Tides*, and *Tempests*. For he was no sooner come to *Lincoln*, where he kept his *Easter*, but he received news, that the Lord *Lovel*, *Humphrey Stafford*, and *Thomas Stafford* (who had formerly taken *Sanctuary* at *Colchester*) were departed out of *Sanctuary*, but to what place, no man could tell. Which advertisement, the King despised, and continued his Journey to *York*. At *York* there came fresh and more certain advertisement, that the Lord *Lovel* was at hand with a great power of men, and that the *Staffords* were in Arms in *Worcestershire*, and had made their approaches to the City of *Worcester*, to assail it. The King, as a Prince of great and profound Judgement, was not much moved with it; for that he thought it was but a Ragg or Remnant of *Bosworth-Field*, and had nothing in it of the main Party of the House of *York*. But he was more doubtful of the raising of Forces to resist the *Rebels*, than of the Resistance it self; for that he was in a *Core* of People, whose affections he suspected. But the Action enduring no delay, he did speedily levy and sent against the Lord *Lovel* to the number of three thousand men, ill armed, but well assured, (being taken some few out of his own Train, and the rest out of the Tenants and Followers of such as were safe to be trusted,) under the Conduct of the Duke of *Bedford*. And as his manner was to send his Pardons rather before the Sword than after, he gave *Commission* to the Duke, to proclaim Pardon to all that would come in: Which the Duke, upon his approach to the Lord *Lovel's* Camp, did perform. And it fell out as the King expected; the *Heralds* were the *Great-Ordinance*. For the Lord *Lovel*, upon Proclamation of Pardon, mistrusting his men, fled into *Lancashire*, and lurking for a time with Sir *Thomas Broughton*, after sailed over into *Flanders*, to the Lady *Margaret*. And his men, forsaken of their *Captain*, did presently submit themselves to the Duke. The *Staffords* likewise, and their Forces, hearing what had happened to the Lord *Lovel* (in whose Success their chief Trust was) despaired, and dispersed.

The two Brothers, taking *Sanctuary* at *Colnham*, a Village near *Abington*; which Place, upon view of their *Priviledge* in the King's Bench, being judged no sufficient *Sanctuary* for Traytors, *Humphrey* was Executed at *Tyburn*; and *Thomas*, as being led by his elder Brother, was Pardoned. So this *Rebellion* proved but a Blast; and the King having by this Journey purged a little the Dregs and Leaven of the *Northern People*, that were before in no good affection towards him, returned to *London*.

In *September* following, the *Queen* was delivered of her first Son, whom the King (in Honour of the *British-Race*, of which himself was) named *Arthur*, according to the Name of that ancient worthy King of the *Britains*; in whose Acts there is truth enough to make him Famous, besides that which is Fabulous. The *Child* was strong and able, though he was Born in the *eighth Month*, which Physicians do prejudice.

There followed this Year, being the *Second* of the King's Reign, a strange Accident of *State*, whereof the Relations which we have, are so naked, as they leave it scarce credible; not for the nature of it, (for it hath fallen out oft,) but for the manner and circumstance of it, especially in the beginnings. Therefore we shall make our Judgement upon the things themselves, as they give light one to another, and (as we can) dig *Truth* out of the *Mine*. The King was green in his Estate, and contrary to his own Opinion, and Desert both, was not without much Hatred throughout the *Realm*. The root of all, was the discountenancing of the House of *York*, which the general Body of the *Realm* still affected. This did alienate the Hearts of the *Subjects* from him dayly more and more, especially when they saw, that after his Marriage, and after a Son born, the King did nevertheless not so much as proceed to the *Coronation* of the *Queen*, not vouchsafing her the Honour of a *Matrimonial Crown*; for the *Coronation* of Her was not 'till almost two Years after, when Danger had taught him what to do. But much more, when it was spread abroad (whether by *Error*, or the cunning of *Male-contents*) that the King had a purpose to put to death *Edward Plantagenet* closely in the Tower: Whose case was so neerly parallel'd with that of *Edward* the Fourth's Children, in respect of the blood, like age, and the very place of the Tower, as it did refresh and reflect upon the King a most odious resemblance, as if he would be another King *Richard*. And all this time it was still whispered every where, that at least one of the Children of *Edward* the Fourth was living. Which Bruit was cunningly fomented by such as desired *Innovation*. Neither was the King's nature and customs greatly fit to disperse these *Mists*; but contrary-wise he had a fashion rather to create Doubts, than Assurance. Thus was *Fuel* prepared for the *Spark*:
the

the *Spark* that afterwards kindled such a Fire, and Combustion, was at the first contemptible.

There was a subtil Priest called *Richard Simon*, that lived in *Oxford*, and had to his Pupil a *Baker's Son* named *Lambert Simnel*, of the age of some Fifteen years; a comely Youth, and well-favoured, not without some extraordinary dignity and grace of Aspect. It came into this Priest's fancy (hearing what men talked, and in hope to raise himself to some great *Bishoprick*,) to cause this *Lad* to counterfeit and Personate the second Son of *Edward* the Fourth, supposed to be murdered; and afterward (for he changed his intention in the manage) the Lord *Edward Plantagenet* then Prisoner in the Tower, and accordingly to frame him and instruct him in the Part he was to play. This is that which (as was touched before) seemeth scarcely credible: Not that a false Person should be assumed to gain a *Kingdom*, for it hath been seen in antient and late times; nor that it should come into the mind of such an abject Fellow, to enterprise so great a matter for high Conceits do sometime come streaming into the Imaginations of base persons, especially when they are drunk with *News* and *Talk* of the People. But here is that which hath no apparence; That this Priest being utterly unacquainted with the true Person, according to whose pattern he should shape his *Counterfeit*, should think it possible for him to instruct his Player, either in gesture and fashions, or in recounting past matters of his Life and Education; or to fit Answers to Questions, or the like, any ways to come near the Resemblance of him whom he was to represent. For this *Lad* was not to personate one, that had been long before taken out of his Cradle, or conveyed away in his Infancy, known to few; but a *Youth* that 'till the age almost of Ten years had been brought up in a Court where infinite Eyes had been upon him. For King *Edward* touched with remorse of his Brother the *Duke of Clarence's* Death, would not indeed restore his Son, (of whom we speak) to be *Duke of Clarence*, but yet created him *Earl of Warwick*, reviving his Honour on the Mothers side, and used him honorably during his time, though *Richard* the Third afterwards confined him. So that it cannot be, but that some great Person, that knew particularly, and familiarly *Edward Plantagenet*, had a hand in the business, from whom the Priest might take his aim. That which is most probable, out of the precedent and subsequent Acts, is, that it was the *Queen Dowager*, from whom this Action had the principal source and motion. For certain it is, she was a busie negotiating Woman, and in her *withdrawing-Chamber* had the fortunate *Conspiracy* for the King against King *Richard* the Third, been hatched; which the King knew, and remembred perhaps but too well; and was at this time extremely discontent with the King, thinking her Daughter (as the King handled the matter) not advanced, but depressed:
and

and none could hold the *Book* so well to prompt and instruct this *Stage-play*, as she could. Nevertheless it was not her meaning, nor no more was it the meaning of any of the better and sager sort that favoured the Enterprize and knew the Secret, that this disguised *Idol* should possess the *Crown*; but at his peril to make way to the Overthrow of the King: and that done, they had their several *Hopes* and *ways*. That which doth chiefly fortifie this Conjecture, is, that as soon as the matter brake forth in any strength, it was one of the King's first Acts to cloister the *Queen Dowager* in the *Nunnery* of *Bermonsey*, and to take away all her Lands and Estate; and this by close *Council* without any Legal proceeding, upon far-fetcht Pretences; That *she* had delivered her two Daughters out of *Sanctuary* to King Richard, contrary to promise. Which Proceeding being even at that time taxed for rigorous and undue, both in matter and manner, makes it very probable there was some greater matter against her, which the King upon reason of *Policy*, and to avoid Envy would not publish. It is likewise no small Argument that there was some Secret in it, and some suppressing of Examinations; for that the *Priest Simon* himself, after he was taken, was never brought to Execution, no not so much as to publick *Trial*, (as many *Clergy-men* were upon less Treasons,) but was only shut up close in a *Dungeon*. Add to this, that after the Earl of *Lincoln* (a principal Person of the House of *York*) was slain in *Stoke-field*, the King opened himself to some of his *Council*, that he was sorry for the *Earl's* Death, because by him (he said) he might have known the bottom of his Danger.

But to return to the *Narration* it self, *Simon* did first instruct his *Scholar* for the part of *Richard Duke of York*, second Son to King *Edward* the Fourth, and this was at such time as it was voyced that the King purposed to put to Death *Edward Plantagenet* Prisoner in the Tower, whereat there was great murmur. But hearing soon after a general bruit that *Plantagenet* had escaped out of the Tower, and thereby finding him so much beloved amongst the People, and such rejoycing at his Escape, the cunning *Priest* changed his Copy, and chose now *Plantagenet* to be the Subject his *Pupil* should personate, because he was more in the present speech, and Votes of the People; and it pieced better, and followed more close and handsomly upon the bruit of *Plantagenet's* Escape. But yet doubting that there would be too near looking and too much *Perspective* into his Disguise; if he should shew it here in *England*; he thought good (after the manner of *Scenes* in *Stage-Plays* and *Masques*) to shew it a-far-off; and therefore sailed with his *Scholar* into *Ireland*, where the Affection to the House of *York* was most in height. The King had been a little Improvident in matters of *Ireland*, and had not removed *Officers* and *Chancellors*, and put in their places, or at least

least intermingled persons, of whom he stood assured, as he should have done, since he knew the strong Bent of that Countrey towards the House of York; and that it was a ticklish and unsetled State, more easie to receive distempers and mutations, than *England* was. But trusting to the reputation of his Victories and Successes in *England*, he thought he should have time enough to extend his Cares afterwards to that second Kingdom.

Wherefore through this neglect, upon the coming of *Simon* with his pretended *Plantagenet* into *Ireland*, all things were prepared for Revolt and Sedition, almost as if they had been set and plotted before-hand. *Simon's* first Address was to the Lord *Thomas Fitz-Gerard*, Earl of *Kildare*, and Deputy of *Ireland*: before whose Eyes he did cast such a Mist, (by his own insinuation, and by the carriage of his Youth, that expressed a natural Princely Behaviour,) as joyned perhaps with some inward Vapours of Ambition and Affection in the Earl's own mind, left him fully possessed, that it was the true *Plantagenet*. The Earl presently communicated the matter with some of the Nobles and others there, at the first secretly. But finding them of like Affection to himself, he suffered it of purpose to vent and pass abroad, because they thought it not safe to resolve, till they had a taste of the Peoples Inclination. But if the Great ones were in forwardness, the People were in fury, entertaining this Airy Body or Phantasm with incredible affection; partly out of their great devotion to the House of York; partly out of a proud humour in the Nation, to give a King to the Realm of *England*. Neither did the Party in this heat of affection much trouble themselves with the Attaindors of *George Duke of Clarence*; having newly learned by the King's example, that Attaindors do not interrupt the conveying of Title to the Crown. And as for the Daughters of King *Edward* the Fourth, they thought King *Richard* had said enough for them: and took them to be but as of the King's Party, because they were in his power, and at his disposing. So that with marvellous consent and applause, this Counterfeit *Plantagenet* was brought with great Solemnity to the Castle of *Dublin*, and there saluted, served and honoured as King; the Boy becoming it well, and doing nothing that did bewray the baseness of his condition. And within few days after he was proclaimed King in *Dublin*, by the Name of King *Edward* the Sixth; there being not a Sword drawn in King *Henry* his Quarrel.

The King was much moved with this unexpected Accident, when it came to his Ears, both because it strook upon that String which ever he most feared, as also because it was stirred in such a Place, where he could not with safety transfer his own Person, to suppress it. For partly through natural Valour, and partly through an universal Suspicion (not knowing whom to trust) he

he was ever ready to wait upon all his Atchievements in person. The King therefore first called his *Council* together at the *Charter-house* at *Shize*. Which *Council* was held with great secrecie, but the open *Decrees* thereof, which presently came abroad, were three.

The first was, That the *Queen Dowager*, for that she contrary to her *Pact* and *Agreement* with those that had concluded with her concerning the *Marriage* of her Daughter *Elizabeth* with King *Henry*, had nevertheless delivered her Daughters out of *Sanctuary* into King *Richard's* hands; should be Cloystered in the *Nunnery* of *Bermonsey*, and forfeit all her Lands and Goods:

The next was, That *Edward Plantagenet* then Close-prisoner in the Tower, should be in the most publick and notorious manner, that could be devised, shewed unto the People: In part to discharge the King of the Envy of that opinion and bruit, how he had been put to death privily in the Tower; But chiefly to make the People see the levity and imposture of the Proceedings of *Ireland*, and that their *Plantagenet* was indeed but a Puppet, or a *Counterfeit*.

The third was, That there should be again Proclaimed a *General-Pardon* to all that would reveal their Offences, and submit themselves by a Day. And that this *Pardon* should be conceived in so ample and liberal a manner, as no *High-Treason* (no not against the King's own Person) should be excepted. Which though it might seem strange, yet was it not so to a wise King, that knew his greatest dangers were not from the least *Treasons*, but from the greatest. These Resolutions of the King and his *Council* were immediately put in execution. And first, the *Queen Dowager* was put into the Monastery of *Bermonsey*, and all her Estate seized into the King's hands; whereat there was much wondering; That a weak Woman, for the yielding to the menaces and promises of a Tyrant, after such a distance of time, (wherein the King had shewed no displeasure, nor alteration,) but much more after so happy a Marriage, between the King and her Daughter, blessed with *Issue-male*, should upon a sudden mutability or disclosure of the King's mind be so severely handled.

This *Lady* was amongst the Examples of great variety of *Fortune*. She had first from a distressed *Sutor*, and desolate *Widow*, been taken to the *Marriage-Bed* of a *Batchelor-King*, the goodliest Personage of his time; and even in his Reign she had endured a strange *Eclipse* by the King's flight, and temporary depriving from the Crown. She was also very happy, in that she had by him fair *Issue*, and continued his Nuptial Love (helping her self by some obsequious bearing and dissembling of his Pleasures) to the very end. She was much affectionate to her own Kindred, even unto *Faction*; which did stir great Envy in the *Lords* of the King's side, who counted her Blood a disparagement to be mingled

mingled with the King's. With which *Lords* of the King's Blood, joyned also the King's *Favorite* the Lord *Hastings*; who, notwithstanding the King's great affection to him, was thought at times through her malice and spleen, not to be out of danger of falling. After her Husband's death, she was matter of *Tragedy*, having lived to see her *Brother* beheaded, and her two *Sons* deposed from the Crown, bastarded in their Blood, and cruelly murdered. All this while nevertheless she enjoyed her Liberty, State, and Fortunes. But afterwards again, upon the *Rise* of the *wheel*, when she had a *King* to her *Son-in-Law*, and was made *Grand-mother* to a *Grand-child* of the best Sex; yet was she (upon dark and unknown Reasons, and no less strange Pretences) precipitated, and banished the World, into a *Nunnery*; where it was almost thought dangerous to visit her, or see her; and where not long after she ended her Life: but was by the King's commandment Buried with the King her Husband at *Windsor*. She was *Foundress* of *Queens-College* in *Cambridge*. For this *Act* the King sustained great Obloquy, which nevertheless (besides the reason of State) was somewhat sweetned to him by a great *Confiscation*.

About this time also *Edward Plantagenet* was upon a *Sunday* brought throughout all the principal Streets of *London*, to be seen of the people. And having passed the view of the Streets, was conducted to *St. Paul's Church*, in solemn *Procession*, where great store of people were assembled. And it was provided also in good fashion, that divers of the *Nobility*, and others of *Quality* (especially of those that the King most suspected, and knew the person of *Plantagenet* best) had communication with the young Gentleman by the way, and entertained him with speech and discourse; which did in effect marr the *Pageant* in *Ireland* with the Subjects here, at least with so many, as out of *Errour*, and not out of *Malice*, might be misled. Nevertheless, in *Ireland* (where it was too late to go back) it wrought little or no effect. But contrariwise, they turned the *Imposture* upon the King, and gave out, That the King, to defeat the true *Inheritor*, and to mock the World, and blind the Eyes of simple men, had tricked up a *Boy* in the likeness of *Edward Plantagenet*, and shewed him to the People, not sparing to prophane the *Ceremony* of a *Procession*, the more to countenance the *Fable*.

The *General-Pardon* likewise near the same time came forth; and the King therewithal omitted no diligence, in giving straight Order, for the keeping the *Ports*; that *Fugitives*, *Male-contents*, or suspected *Persons* might not pass over into *Ireland*, and *Flanders*,

Mean while the *Rebels* in *Ireland* had sent privy Messengers both into *England*, and into *Flanders*, who in both places had wrought effects of no small Importance. For in *England* they

won to their Party *John*, Earl of *Lincoln*, Son of *John de la Pole*, Duke of *Suffolk*, and of *Elizabeth*, King *Edward* the Fourth's eldest Sister. This *Earl* was a man of great Wit and Courage, and had his thoughts highly raised by Hopes and Expectations for a time. For *Richard* the Third had a Resolution, out of his hatred to both his Brethren, King *Edward*, and the Duke of *Clarence*, and their Lines, (having had his hand in both their Bloods,) to disable their Issues upon false and incomperent pretexts; the one, of *Attaindor*; the other, of *Illegitimation*: and to design this *Gentleman* (in case himself should dye without Children) for *Inheritor* of the *Crown*. Neither was this unknown to the King, who had secretly an Eye upon him. But the King having tasted of the Envy of the People, for his Imprisonment of *Edward Plantagenet*, was doubtful to heap up any more distasts of that kind, by the Imprisonment of *De la Pole* also; the rather thinking it Policy to conserve him as a *Corrival* unto the other. The Earl of *Lincoln* was induced to participate with the Action of *Ireland*, not lightly upon the strength of the *Proceedings* there, which was but a *Bubble*, but upon Letters from the Lady *Margaret* of *Burgundy*, in whose succours and declaration for the *Enterprize*, there seemed to be a more solid Foundation, both for Reputation and Forces. Neither did the *Earl* refrain the Business; for that he knew the pretended *Plantagenet* to be but an Idol. But contrariwise, he was more glad it should be the false *Plantagenet* than the true: because the false being sure to fall away of himself, and the true to be made sure of by the King; it might open and pave a fair and prepared way to his own *Title*. With this Resolution he sayled secretly into *Flanders*; where was a little before arrived the Lord *Lovel*, leaving a correspondence here in *England* with Sir *Thomas Broughton*, a man of great Power and Dependencies in *Lancashire*. For before this time, when the pretended *Plantagenet* was first received in *Ireland*, secret Messengers had been also sent to the Lady *Margaret*, advertising her what was passed in *Ireland*, imploring Succours in an *Enterprize* (as they said) so pious and just, and that God had so miraculously prospered the beginning thereof; and making offer, that all things should be guided by her will and direction, as the *Sovereign Patroneß* and *Protectress* of the *Enterprize*. *Margaret* was second Sister to King *Edward* the Fourth, and had been second Wife to *Charles*, surnamed the *Hardy*, Duke of *Burgundy*; by whom, having no Children of her own, she did with singular care and tenderness intend the Education of *Philip* and *Margaret*, Grand-children to her former Husband; which won her great Love and Authority among the *Dutch*. This *Princess* (having the *Spirit* of a Man, and *Malice* of a Woman) abounding in *Treasure*, by the greatness of her *Dower*, and her provident Government, and being childless, and without any nearer Care, made

made it her Design and Enterprize, to see the *Majesty Royal* of *England* once again re-placed in her House, and had set up King *Henry* as a Mark, at whose Overthrow all her Actions should aim and shoot; in-so-much as all the *Counsels* of his succeeding Troubles came chiefly out of that *Quiver*. And she bare such a mortal Hatred to the House of *Lancaster*, and personally to the King, as she was no ways mollified by the *Conjunction* of the Houses in her *Nieces* Marriage, but rather hated her *Niece*, as the means of the King's ascent to the *Crown*, and assurance therein. Wherefore with great violence of affection she embraced this Overture: And upon Counsel taken with the Earl of *Lincoln*, and the Lord *Lovel*, and some other of the *Party*, it was resolved with all speed, the two Lords assisted with a Regiment of two thousand *Almains*, being choice and veterane *Bands* under the Command of *Martin Swart* (a valiant and experimented *Captain*) should pass over into *Ireland* to the new King. Hoping, that when the *Action* should have the face of a received and settled *Regality*, (with such a second Person, as the Earl of *Lincoln*, and the *Conjunction* and *Reputation* of *Forein* Succors,) the Fame of it would embolden and prepare all the *Party* of the *Confederates* and *Male-contentes* within the Realm of *England*, to give them Assistance, when they should come over there. And for the *Person* of the *Counterfeit*, it was agreed, that if all things succeeded well, he should be put down, and the true *Plantagenet* received: Wherein nevertheless the Earl of *Lincoln* had his particular hopes: After they were come into *Ireland*, and that the *Party* took courage, by seeing themselves together in a Body; they grew very confident of success, conceiving and discoursing amongst themselves, that they went in upon far better *Cards* to overthrow King *Henry*, than King *Henry* had to overthrow King *Richard*. And that if there were not a Sword drawn against them in *Ireland*, it was a sign the Swords in *England* would be soon sheathed, or beaten down. And first, for a Bravery upon this accession of Power, they Crowned their new King in the Cathedral Church of *Dublin*; who formerly had been but Proclaimed only; and then sat in *Council* what should further be done. At which *Council*, though it were propounded by some, that it were the best way to Establish themselves first in *Ireland*, and to make that the Seat of the War, and to draw King *Henry* thither in Person, by whose absence, they thought there would be great Alterations and Commotions in *England*, yet because the Kingdom there was poor, and they should not be able to keep their Army together, nor pay their *German* Soldiers; and for that also the sway of the *Irish-men*, and generally of the Men-of-War, which (as in such cases of popular Tumults is usual) did in effect govern their Leaders, was eager, and in affection to make their Fortunes upon *England*: It was concluded with all possible

speed to transport their Forces into *England*. The King in the mean time, who at the first when he heard what was done in *Ireland*, though it troubled him, yet thought he should be well enough able to scatter the *Irish* as a Flight of Birds, and rattle away this Swarm of Bees, with their King; when he heard afterwards that the Earl of *Lincoln* was embarked in the Action, and that the Lady *Margaret* was declared for it, he apprehended the danger in a true Degree as it was, and saw plainly that his Kingdom must again be put to the *Stake*, and that he must fight for it. And first, he did conceive, before he understood of the Earl of *Lincoln's* sayling into *Ireland* out of *Flanders*, that he should be assailed both upon the East-parts of the Kingdom of *England* by some impression from *Flanders*, and upon the North-west out of *Ireland*. And therefore having ordered Musters to be made in both Parts, and having provisionally designed two Generals, *Jasper* Earl of *Bedford*, and *John* Earl of *Oxford*, (meaning himself also to go in person, where the Affairs should most require it,) and nevertheless not expecting any actual *Invasion* at that time (the Winter being far on) he took his journey himself towards *Suffolk* and *Norfolk*, for the confirming of those parts. And being come to *St. Edmonds-bury*, he understood, that *Thomas*, Marquess *Dorset* (who had been one of the Pledges in *France*) was hastning towards him, to purge himself of some Accusations which had been made against him. But the King, though he kept an Ear for him, yet was the time so doubtful, that he sent the Earl of *Oxford* to meet him, and forthwith to carry him to the *Tower*; with a fair Message nevertheless, that he should bear that disgrace with patience, for that the King meant not his hurt, but only to preserve him from doing hurt, either to the King's service, or to himself; and that the King should always be able (when he had cleared himself) to make him reparation.

From *St. Edmonds-bury* he went to *Norwich*, where he kept his *Christmas*. And from thence he went (in a manner of Pilgrimage) to *Walsingham*, where he visited our *Ladies Church*, famous for *Miracles*, and made his Prayers and Vows for help and deliverance. And from thence he returned by *Cambridge* to *London*. Not long after, the *Rebels* with their King (under the Leading of the Earl of *Lincoln*, the Earl of *Kildare*, the Lord *Lovel*, and Colonel *Swart*) landed at *Fouldrey* in *Lancashire*, whither there repaired to them, Sir *Thomas Broughton*, with some small company of *English*. The King by that time (knowing now the Storm would not divide, but fall in one place) had levied Forces in good number; and in person (taking with him his two designed Generals, the Duke of *Bedford*, and the Earl of *Oxford*) was come on his way towards them as far as *Coventry*, whence he sent forth a Troop of *Light-horsem*en for discovery, and

to intercept some straglers of the Enemies, by whom he might the better understand the particulars of their Progress and purposes, which was accordingly done; though the King otherwise was not without Intelligence from *Esquals* in the *Camp*.

The Rebels took their way towards *York*, without spoiling the Countrey, or any act of Hostility, the better to put themselves into favour of the People, and to personate their *King*: who (no doubt, out of a Princely feeling) was sparing, and compassionate towards his Subjects. But their *Snow-ball* did not gather as it went. For the People came not in to them: Neither did any rise or declare themselves in other parts of the Kingdom for them, which was caused partly by the good tast that the King had given his People of his *Government*, joyned with the reputation of his *Felicity*, and partly for that it was an odious thing to the People of *England*, to have a King brought in to them upon the shoulders of *Irish* and *Dutch*, of which their Army was in substance compounded. Neither was it a thing done with any great Judgement on the Party of the Rebels, for them to take their way towards *York*: Considering that howsoever those parts had formerly been a Nursery of their Friends; yet it was there, where the Lord *Lovel* had so lately disbanded, and where the King's presence had a little before qualified discontents. The Earl of *Lincoln*, deceived of his hopes of the Countries concurrence unto him, (in which case he would have temporized,) and seeing the business past Retract, resolved to make on where the King was, and to give him Battel; and thereupon, marched towards *Newark*, thinking to have surpris'd the Town. But the King was somewhat before this time come to *Nottingham*, where he called a *Council of War*, at which was consulted, whether it were best to protract time, or speedily to set upon the Rebels. In which *Council* the King himself (whose continual vigilancy did suck in sometimes causeless Suspicions, which few else knew) inclined to the accelerating a *Battel*. But this was presently put out of doubt, by the great Aids that came in to him in the instant of this Consultation, partly upon *Missives*, and partly *Voluntaries* from many parts of the Kingdom.

The principal persons that came then to the King's aid, were the Earl of *Sbrensbury*, and the Lord *Strange*, of the Nobility; and of Knights and Gentlemen to the number of at least Threescore and ten persons, with their Companies, making in the whole, at the least Six Thousand fighting men, besides the Forces that were with the King before. Whereupon the King, finding his Army so bravely re-enforced, and a great alacrity in all his men to fight, was confirmed in his former Resolution, and marched speedily, so as he put himself between the Enemies Camp and *Newark*; being loth their Army should get the commodity of that Town. The Earl nothing dismayed, came forwards

forwards that day unto a little Village called *Stoke*, and there camped that night, upon the brow or hanging of a Hill. The King the next day presented him Battel upon the *Plain*, the fields there being open and champion. The Earl courageously came down and joyned Battel with him. Concerning which Battel, the Relations that are left unto us are so naked and negligent, (though it be an Action of so recent memory) as they rather declared the Success of the day, than the Manner of the Fight. They say, that the King divided his Army into three Battels, whereof the *Vaunt-guard* only well strengthened with Wings, came to fight. That the Fight was fierce and obstinate, and lasted three hours, before the Victory inclined either way; save that Judgement might be made, by that the King's *Vaunt-guard* of it self maintained fight against the whole *Power* of the Enemies, (the other two Battels remaining out of action,) what the success was like to be in the end: That *Martin Swart* with his *Germans* performed bravely; and so did those few *English* that were on that side, neither did the *Irish* fail in courage or fierceness, but being almost naked men, only armed with *Darts* and *Skeins*, it was rather an Execution, than a Fight upon them; insomuch as the furious slaughter of them was a great discouragement and appalement to the rest: That there dyed upon the place all the Chieftains; that is, the Earl of *Lincoln*, the Earl of *Kildare*, *Francis Lord Lovel*, *Martin Swart*, and Sir *Thomas Broughton*; all making good the fight, without any ground given. Only of the Lord *Lovel* there went a report, that he fled and swam over *Trent* on horseback, but could not recover the further side, by reason of the steepness of the Bank, and so was drowned in the *River*. But another report leaves him not there, but that he lived long after in a Cave or Vault. The number that was slain in the field, was of the *Enemies* part, Four thousand at the least; and of the King's part, one half of his *Vaunt-guard*, besides many hurt, but none of name. There were taken Prisoners, amongst others, the Counterfeit *Plantagenet* (now *Lambert Simnel* again) and the crafty Priest his Tutor. For *Lambert*, the King would not take his Life, both out of Magnanimity; taking him but as an *Image* of *Wax*, that others had tempered and molded; and likewise out of Wisdom, thinking that if he suffered death, he would be forgotten too soon; but being kept alive, he would be a continual *Spectacle*; and a kind of remedy against the like *Inchantments* of *People*, in time to come. For which cause he was taken into service in his Court; to a base office in his Kitchen; so that (in a kind of *Mattatina* of humane fortune) he turned a *Broath*, that had worn a *Crown*: Whereas Fortune commonly doth not bring in a *Comedy* or *Farce* after a *Tragedy*. And afterwards he was preferred to be one of the King's *Falconers*. As to the Priest, he was committed Close-prisoner

prisoner, and heard of no more, the King loving to seal up his own dangers.

After the Battel, the King went to *Lincoln*, where he caused *Supplications* and *Thanksgivings* to be made for his Deliverance and Victory. And that his Devotions might go round in Circle, he sent his *Banner* to be Offered to our Lady of *Walsingham*, where before he made his *Vows*. And thus delivered of this so strange an *Engin* and new *Invention* of Fortune, he returned to his former confidence of mind, thinking now, that all his misfortunes had come at once. But it fell out unto him according to the *Speech* of the common People in the beginning of his Reign, that said; *It was a token he should reign in Labour, because his Reign began with a sickness of Sweat*. But howsoever the King thought himself now in a *Haven*, yet such was his Wisdom, as his Confidence did seldom darken his *Fore-sight*, especially in things near hand. And therefore awakened by so fresh, and unexpected dangers, he entred into due consideration, as well how to weed out the Partakers of the former *Rebellion*, as to kill the Seeds of the like in time to come: and withal to take away all shelters and harbours for discontented Persons, where they might hatch and foster *Rebellions*, which afterwards might gather strength and motion. And first, he did yet again make a Progress from *Lincoln* to the Northern parts, though it were indeed rather an *Itinerary Circuit* of Justice, than a Progress. For all along as he went, with much severity and strict inquisition, partly by Martial Law, and partly by Commission, were punished, the Adherents and Ayders of the late Rebels: not all by Death, (for the Field had drawn much blood,) but by Fines and Ransoms, which spared Life, and raised Treasure. Amongst other Crimes of this nature, there was diligent inquiry made of such as had raised and dispersed a bruit and rumour, a little before the Field fought, *That the Rebels had the day; and that the King's Army was overthrown, and the King fled*. Whereby it was supposed that many Succours, which otherwise would have come unto the King, were cunningly put off, and kept back. Which *Charge* and *Accusation*, though it had some ground, yet it was industriously embraced and put on by divers, who having been in themselves not the best affected to the King's part, nor forward to come to his ayd, were glad to apprehend this colour, to cover their neglect and coldness, under the pretence of such discouragements. Which cunning nevertheless, the King would not understand, though he lodged it, and noted it in some particulars, as his manner was.

But for the extirpating of the roots and causes of the like *Com-motions* in time to come, the King began to find where his shoe did wring him, and that it was his depressing of the House of *York*, that did rancle and fester the Affections of his People. And therefore

therefore being now too wise to disdain perils any longer, and willing to give some contentment in that kind (at least in Ceremony) he resolved at last to proceed to the *Coronation* of his Queen. And therefore at his coming to *London*, where he entred in State, and in a kind of *Triumph*, and celebrated his *Victory*, with two days of Devotion, (for the first day he repaired to *St. Pauls*, and had the Hymn of *Te Deum* sung, and the morrow after he went in *Procession*, and heard the Sermon at the *Cross*,) the Queen was with great solemnity Crowned at *Westminster*, the five and twentyeth of *November*, in the third year of his Reign, which was about two years after the Marriage; *Like an old Christning, that had staid long for Godfathers.* Which strange and unusual distance of time, made it subject to every man's note; that it was an Act against his stomach, and put upon him by necessity and reason of *State*. Soon after, to shew that it was now fair weather again, and that the Imprisonment of *Thomas Marquess Dorset*, was rather upon suspicion of the Time, than of the Man, he the said Marquess was set at liberty without Examination, or other circumstance. At that time also the King sent an *Ambassador* unto Pope *Innocent*, signifying unto him this his Marriage, and that now (like another *Aeneas*) he had passed through the floods of his former Troubles and Travels, and was arrived unto a safe Haven: and thanking His Holiness, that he had honoured the Celebration of his Marriage with the presence of his *Ambassador*, and offering both his Person and the Forces of his Kingdom upon all occasions to do him service.

The *Ambassador*, making his Oration to the Pope, in the presence of the Cardinals, did so magnifie the King and Queen, as was enough to glut the Hearers. But then he did again so extol and deifie the Pope, as made all that he had said in praise of his Master and Mistress seem temperate and passable. But he was very honorably entertained, and extremely much made on by the Pope; who knowing himself to be lazy and unprofitable to the *Christian World*, was wonderfully glad to hear that there were such *Echo's* of him sounding in remote parts. He obtained also of the Pope a very just and honorable *Bull*, qualifying the *Priviledges* of *Sanctuary*, (wherewith the King had been extremely galled) in three Points.

The first, that if any *Sanctuary-man* did by night, or otherwise, get out of *Sanctuary* privily, and commit mischief and trespass, and then come in again, he should lose the benefit of *Sanctuary* for ever after. The second, that howsoever the Person of the *Sanctuary-man* was protected from his Creditors, yet his Goods out of *Sanctuary* should not. The third, that if any took *Sanctuary* for case of Treason, the King might appoint him Keepers to look to him in *Sanctuary*.

The King also for the better securing of his Estate, against
mutinous

mutinous and male-contented Subjects (whereof he saw the Realm was full) who might have their refuge into *Scotland* ; which was not under Key , as the *Ports* were : For that cause, rather than for any doubt of Hostility from those parts , before his coming to *London* (when he was at *Newcastle*) had sent a solemn Ambassage unto *James* the Third , King of *Scotland* , to treat and conclude a Peace with him. The Ambassadors were *Richard Fox* Bishop of *Exceter* , and Sir *Richard Edgcomb* Comptroller of the King's House , who were honourably received and entertained there. But the King of *Scotland* labouring of the same disease that King *Henry* did ; (though more mortal , as afterwards appeared) that is , *Discontented Subjects* , apt to rise , and raise Tumult , although in his own affection he did much desire to make a Peace with the King : Yet finding his Nobles averse , and not daring to displease them , concluded only a Truce for seven years , giving nevertheless promise in private , that it should be renewed from time to time , during the two Kings lives.

Hitherto the King had been exercised in settling his Affairs at home. But about this time brake forth an occasion that drew him to look abroad, and to hearken to forein business: *Charles* the Eighth the *French* King , by the virtue and good fortune of his two immediate Predecessors , *Charles* the Seventh his Grand-father , and *Lewis* the Eleventh his Father , received the Kingdom of *France* in more flourishing and spread Estate , than it had been of many years before ; being redintegrate in those principal Members , which antiently had been portions of the Crown of *France* , and were after dissevered , so as they remained only in Homage , and not in Sovereignty , (being governed by absolute Princes of their own) *Anjou* , *Normandy* , *Provence* and *Burgundy* ; there remained only *Britain* to be re-united , and so the Monarchy of *France* to be reduced to the antient Terms and Bounds.

King *Charles* was not a little inflamed with an ambition to re-purchase , and re-annex that *Dutchy*. Which his ambition was a wise and well-weighed Ambition ; not like unto the ambitions of his succeeding Enterprizes of *Italy*. For at that time being newly come to the Crown , he was somewhat guided by his Father's Counsels , (Counsels , not Counsellors) for his Father was his own Counsel , and had few able men about him. And that King (he knew well) had ever distasted the Designs of *Italy* , and in particular had an Eye upon *Britain*. There were many circumstances that did feed the Ambition of *Charles* , with pregnant and apparent hopes of Success. The Duke of *Britain* old , and entred into a Lethargy , and served with *Mercenary Counsellors* , Father of two only Daughters , the one sick and not likely to continue. King *Charles* himself in the flower of his age , and

the Subjects of *France* at that time well trained for War, both for Leaders and Soldiers; men of service being not yet worn out, since the Wars of *Lewis* against *Burgundy*. He found himself also in Peace with all his Neighbour-Princes. As for those that might oppose to his Enterprize; *Maximilian* King of the *Romans*, his Rival in the same desires, (as well for the *Dutchy*, as the Daughter) feeble in means; and King *Henry* of *England* as well somewhat obnoxious to him for his favours and benefits, as busied in his particular troubles at home. There was also a fair and specious occasion offered him to hide his Ambition, and to justify his Warring upon *Britain*, for that the Duke had received and succoured *Lewis* Duke of *Orleance*, and other of the *French* Nobility, which had taken Arms against their King. Wherefore King *Charles* being resolved upon that War, knew well he could not receive any opposition so potent, as if King *Henry* should either upon Policy of State, in preventing the growing Greatness of *France*; or upon gratitude unto the Duke of *Britain*, for his former favours, in the time of his distress, espouse that Quarrel, and declare himself in ayd of the Duke. Therefore he no sooner heard that King *Henry* was settled by his Victory, but forthwith he sent Ambassadors unto him, to pray his assistance, or at the least that he would stand neutral. Which Ambassadors found the King at *Leicester*, and delivered their Embassy to this effect: They first imparted unto the King the success that their Master had had a little before against *Maximilian*, in recovery of certain Towns from him: which was done in a kind of privacy, and inwardness towards the King; and if the *French* King did not esteem him for an outward or formal *Confederate*, but as one that had part in his Affections and Fortunes, and with whom he took pleasure to communicate his Business. After this Compliment, and some gratulation for the King's Victory, they fell to their Errand; declaring to the King, that their Master was enforced to enter into a just and necessary War with the Duke of *Britain*, for that he had received and succoured those that were Traytors, and declared Enemies unto his *Person* and *State*. That they were no mean, distressed, and calamitous persons that fled to him for refuge, but of so great quality, as it was apparent that they came not thither to protect their own fortune, but to infect and invade his; the Head of them being the Duke of *Orleance*, the first Prince of the Blood, and the second Person of *France*. That therefore, rightly to understand it, it was rather on their Master's part a *Defensive* War, than an *Offensive*; as that, that could not be omitted or forborn, if he tended the conservation of his own *Estate*; and that it was not the first Blow that made the War invasive, (for that no wise Prince would stay for) but the first Provocation, or at least the first Preparation. Nay that this War was rather a
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suppression of Rebels, than a War with a just Enemy, where the Case is; That his Subjects, *Troycors*, are received by the Duke of *Britain* his *Homager*. That King *Henry* knew well what went upon it in example, if *Neighbour Princes* should patronize and comfort *Rebels*, against the Law of Nations and of *Leagues*. Nevertheless that their Master was not ignorant, that the King had been beholding to the Duke of *Britain* in his adversity; as on the other side, they knew he would not forget also the readiness of their King, in ayding him when the Duke of *Britain*, or his mercenary *Counsellors* failed him, and would have betrayed him; And that there was a great difference between the courtesies received from their Master, and the Duke of *Britain*; for that the Dukes might have ends of Utility and Bargain, whereas their Masters could not have proceeded but out of entire *Affection*. For that, if it had been measured by a politick line, it had been better for his affairs, that a *Tyrant* should have reigned in *England*, troubled and hated, than such a Prince, whose virtues could not fail to make him great and potent, whensoever he was come to be Master of his affairs. But howsoever it stood for the point of Obligation, which the King might owe to the Duke of *Britain*, yet their Master was well assured, it would not divert King *Henry* of *England* from doing that, that was just, nor ever embarque him in so ill-grounded a Quarrel. Therefore, since this War which their Master was now to make, was but to deliver himself from imminent dangers, their King hoped the King would shew the like affection to the conservation of their Master's Estate, as their Master had (when time was) shewed to the King's acquisition of his Kingdom. At the least, that according to the inclination which the King had ever professed of Peace, he would look on, and stand Neutral; for that their Master could not with reason press him to undertake part in the War, being so newly settled and recovered from intestine Seditions. But touching the Mystery of re-annexing of the *Dutchy* of *Britain* to the Crown of *France*, either by War, or by Marriage with the Daughter of *Britain*; the Ambassadors bare aloof from it, as from a Rock, knowing that it made most against them. And therefore by all means declined any mention thereof, but contrariwise interlaced in their conference with the King, the assured purpose of their Master, to match with the Daughter of *Maximilian*; And entertained the King also with some wandring Discourses of their King's purpose, to recover by Arms his right to the Kingdom of *Naples*, by an expedition in Person; All to remove the King from all jealousy of any *Design*, in these hither Parts upon *Britain*, otherwise than for quenching of the Fire, which he feared might be kindled in his own Estate.

The King after advice taken with his *Council*, made answer to the Ambassadors. And first returned their *Compliment*, shewing

he was right glad of the *French* King's reception of those Towns from *Maximilian*. Then he familiarly related some particular passages of his own Adventures and Victory passed. As to the business of *Britain*, the King answered in few words; That the *French* King and the Duke of *Britain*, were the two persons to whom he was most obliged of all men; and that he should think himself very happy, if things should go so between them; as he should not be able to acquit himself in gratitude towards them both; and that there was no means for him as a *Christian* King and a common Friend to them, to satisfy all Obligations both to God and man, but to offer himself for a *Mediator* of an *Accord* and *Peace* between them; by which course he doubted not but their King's Estate, and Honour both, would be preserved with more *Safety* and less *Envy* than by a War, and that he would spare no cost or pains, no if it were *To go on Pilgrimage*, for so good an effect; And concluded, that in this great *Affair*, which he took so much to heart, he would express himself more fully by an Ambassage, which he would speedily dispatch unto the *French* King for that purpose. And in this sort the *French* Ambassadors were dismissed; the King avoiding to understand any thing touching the re-annexing of *Britain*, as the Ambassadors had avoided to mention it, save that he gave a little touch of it in the word, *Envy*. And so it was, that the King was neither so shallow, nor so ill advertised, as not to perceive the intention of the *French*, for the investing himself of *Britain*. But first he was utterly unwilling (howsoever he gave out) to enter into War with *France*. A Fame of a War he liked well, but not an *Atchievement*; for the one he thought would make him Richer, and the other Poorer: and he was possessed with many secret fears, touching his own People, which he was therefore loth to arm, and put Weapons into their hands. Yet notwithstanding (as a prudent and courageous Prince) he was not so averse from a War, but that he was resolved to choose it, rather than to have *Britain* carried by *France*, being so great and opulent a *Dutchy*, and situate so opportunely to annoy *England*, either for Coast, or Trade. But the King's hopes were, that partly by negligence, commonly imputed to the *French*, (especially in the Court of a young King) and partly by the native power of *Britain* it self, which was not small; but chiefly in respect of the great Party, that the Duke of *Orleance* had in the Kingdom of *France*, and thereby means to stir up Civil troubles, to divert the *French* King from the Enterprize of *Britain*: And lastly, in regard of the Power of *Maximilian*, who was Corrival to the *French* King in that pursuit, the Enterprize would either bow to a Peace, or break in it self. In all which, the King measured and valued things amiss, as afterwards appeared. He sent therefore forthwith to the *French* King, *Christopher Urswick*, his Chaplain, a person by him
much

much trusted and employed; choosing him the rather, because he was a *Church-man*, as best sorting with an Embassy of *Pacification*: and giving him also a *Commission*, That if the *French King* consented to Treat, he should thence repair to the Duke of *Britain*, and ripen the Treaty on both parts. *Urswick* made declaration to the *French King*, much to the purpose of the King's answer to the *French Ambassadors* here; instilling also tenderly some overture of receiving to grace the Duke of *Orleanse*, and some tasted of Conditions of Accord. But the *French King* on the other side proceeded not sincerely, but with a great deal of art and dissimulation, in this Treaty; having for his end to gain time, and so put off the *English Succours*, under hope of Peace, till he had got good footing in *Britain*, by force of Arms. Wherefore he answered the Ambassador, That he would put himself into the King's hands, and make him *Arbiter* of the Peace: and willingly consent, that the Ambassador should straightways pass into *Britain*, to signify this his consent, and to know the Duke's mind likewise; well fore-seeing, that the Duke of *Orleanse*, by whom the Duke of *Britain* was wholly led, taking himself to be upon terms irreconcilable with him, would admit of no Treaty of Peace. Whereby he should in one, both generally abroad veil over his Ambition, and win the reputation of just and moderate proceedings; and should withal endear himself in the Affections of the King of *England*, as one, that had committed all to his Will: Nay, and (which was yet more fine) make faith in him, That although he went on with the War, yet it should be but with his Sword in his hand, to bend the stiffness of the other party to accept of Peace: and so the King should take no umbrage of his arming and prosecution; but the Treaty to be kept on foot, to the very last instant, till he were *Master of the Field*.

Which grounds being by the *French King* wisely laid, all things fell out as he expected. For when the *English Ambassador* came to the Court of *Britain*, the Duke was then scarcely perfect in his memory, and all things were directed by the Duke of *Orleanse*; who gave audience to the Chaplain *Urswick*, and upon his Ambassage delivered, made answer in somewhat high terms, That the Duke of *Britain* having been an *Host*, and a kind of Parent or Foster-father to the King, in his tenderness of age, and weakness of fortune, did look for at this time from King *Henry* (the renowned King of *England*) rather brave Troops for for his Succours, than a vain Treaty of Peace. And if the King could forget the good Offices of the Duke done unto him aforetime; yet he knew well, he would in his Wisdom consider of the future, how much it imported his own Safety and Reputation, both in Foreign parts, and with his own People, not to suffer *Britain* (the old Confederates of *England*) to be swallowed up
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by *France*, and so many good Ports, and strong Towns upon the Coast, be in the command of so potent a Neighbour-King, and so ancient an Enemy. And therefore humbly desired the King to think of this business as his own; and therewith brake off, and denyed any further Conference for Treaty.

Urswick returned first to the *French* King, and related to him what had passed. Who finding things to sort to his desire, took hold of them, and said; That the Ambassador might perceive now, that which he for his part, partly, imagined before; That considering in what hands the Duke of *Britain* was, there would be no Peace; but by a mixt Treaty of force and perswasion. And therefore he would go on with the one, and desired the King not to desist from the other. But for his own part, he did faithfully promise, to be still in the King's power, to rule him in the matter of Peace. This was accordingly represented unto the King by *Urswick* at his return, and in such a fashion, as if the Treaty were in no sort desperate, but rather stayd for a better hour; till the Hammer had wrought, and beat the Party of *Britain* more pliant. Whereupon there passed continually *Paquets* and *Dispatches* between the two Kings, from the one out of desire, and from the other out of dissimulation, about the negotiation of Peace. The *French* King mean-while invaded *Britain* with great Forces, and distressed the City of *Nantes* with a strait Siege, and (as one, who though he had no great Judgement, yet had that, that he could Dissemble home) the more he did urge the prosecution of the War, the more he did at the same time, urge the solicitation of the Peace. Insomuch as during the Siege of *Nantes*, after many Letters and particular Messages, the better to maintain his dissimulation, and to refresh the Treaty, he sent *Bernard Daubigney* (a person of good quality) to the King, earnestly to desire him, to make an end of the business howsoever.

The King was no less ready to revive and quicken the Treaty; and thereupon sent three Commissioners, the Abbot of *Abbingdon*, Sir *Richard Tunstall*, and Chaplain *Urswick* formerly employed, to do their utmost endeavours, to manage the Treaty roundly and strongly.

About this time the Lord *Woodvile*, (Uncle to the Queen) a valiant Gentleman, and desirous of Honour, sued to the King, that he might raise some Power of *Voluntaries* under-hand, and without licence or passport (wherein the King might any ways appear) go to the ayd of the Duke of *Britain*. The King denyed his request, (or at least seemed so to do) and laid strait Commandment upon him; that he should not stir, for that the King thought his Honour would suffer therein, during a Treaty, to better a Party. Nevertheless this Lord (either being unruly, or out of conceit that the King would not inwardly dislike that,

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which he would not openly avow:) sailed secretly over into the Ile of *Wight*, whereof he was Governour, and levied a fair Troop of four hundred men, and with them passed over into *Britain*, and joyned himself with the Duke's forces. The news whereof when it came to the *French* Court, put divers Young bloods into such a fury, as the *English* Ambassadors were not without peril to be outraged. But the *French* King, both to preserve the Priviledge of Ambassadors; and being conscious to himself, that in the business of Peace, he himself was the greater dissembler of the two, forbad all injuries of fact or word, against their Persons, or Followers. And presently came an Agent from the King, to purge himself touching the Lord *Woddevile's* going over, using for a principal argument, to demonstrate that it was without his privity, for that the Troops were so small, as neither had the face of a Succour by Authority, nor could much advance the *Britains* Affairs. To which Message, although the *French* King gave no full credit, yet he made fair weather with the King, and seemed satisfied. Soon after the *English* Ambassadors returned, having two of them been likewise with the Duke of *Britain*, and found things in no other terms, than they were before. Upon their return, they informed the King of the state of the Affairs, and how far the *French* King was from any true meaning of Peace; and therefore he was now to advise of some other course. Neither was the King himself led all this while with credulity meerly, as was generally supposed; but his Errour was not so much facility of belief, as an ill-measuring of the Forces of the other Party.

For (as was partly touched before) the King had cast the business thus with himself. He took it for granted in his own judgement, that the War of *Britain*, in respect of the strength of the *Towns*, and of the *Party*, could not speedily come to a period. For he conceived that the Counsels of a War, that was undertaken by the *French* King, then Childless, against an Heir-apparent of *France*, would be very faint and slow. And besides, that it was not possible; but that the state of *France* should be embroyled with some troubles and alterations in favour of the Duke of *Orleance*. He conceived likewise, that *Maximilian*, King of the *Romans*, was a Prince warlike and potent, who (he made account) would give succours to the *Britains* roundly. So then judging it would be a work of Time, he laid his Plot, how he might best make use of that Time, for his own affairs. Wherein first he thought to make his vantage upon his *Parliament*; knowing that they being affectionate unto the Quarrel of *Britain*, would give Treasure largely. Which Treasure, as a noise of War might draw forth, so a Peace succeeding might coffer up. And because he knew his People were hot upon the business, he chose rather to seem to be deceived, and lulled
asleep

asleep by the *French*, than to be backward in himself; considering his Subjects were not so fully capable of the reasons of State, which made him hold back. Wherefore to all these purposes he saw no other expedient, than to set and keep on foot a continual *Treaty of Peace*; laying it down, and taking it up again, as the occurrence required. Besides, he had in consideration the point of Honour in bearing the blessed person of a *Pacificator*. He thought likewise to make use of the Envy, that the *French King* met with, by occasion of this War of *Britain*, in strengthening himself with new Alliances; as namely that of *Ferdinando of Spain*, with whom he had ever a consent even in Nature and Customs, and likewise with *Maximilian*, who was particularly interested. So that in substance he promised himself Money, Honour, Friends, and Peace in the end. But those things were too fine to be fortunate, and succeed in all parts; for that great affairs are commonly too rough and stubborn to be wrought upon by the finer edges, or points of Wit. The King was likewise deceived in his two main grounds. For although he had reason to conceive, that the *Council of France* would be wary to put the King into a War against the *Heir-apparent of France*; yet he did not consider, that *Charles* was not guided by any of the principal of the *Blood or Nobility*, but by mean men, who would make it their Master-piece, of Credit and Favour, to give venturous Counsels, which no great or wise man durst or would. And for *Maximilian*, he was thought then a Greater-matter than he was; his unstable and necessitous Courses being not then known.

After Consultation with the Ambassadors, who brought him no other news, than he expected before, (though he would not seem to know it till then) he presently summoned his *Parliament*; and in open *Parliament* propounded the Cause of *Britain* to both Houses, by his Chancellor *Morton* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who spake to this effect:

M^R Lords and Masters; The King's Grace our Sovereign Lord, hath commanded me to declare unto you the Causes that have moved him at this time to summon this his *Parliament*; which I shall do in few words, craving Pardon of his Grace, and you all, if I perform it not as I would.

His Grace doth first of all let you know, that he retaineth in thankful memory the Love and Loyalty shewed to him by you, at your last Meeting, in Establishment of his Royalty; freeing and discharging of his Partakers, and confiscation of his Traytors and Rebels: more than which could not come from Subjects to their Sovereign, in one action. This he taketh so well at your hands, as he hath made it a Resolution to himself to communicate with so loving and well-approved Subjects, in all Affairs that are of publick nature, at home or abroad.

Two therefore are the causes of your present Assembling: the one, a Foreign business; the other, matter of Government at home.

The French King (as no doubt ye have heard) maketh at this present hot War upon the Duke of Britain. His Army is now before Nantes, and holdeth it straitly Besieged, being the principal City (if not in Ceremony and Preheminence, yet in Strength and Wealth) of that Duchy. Ye may guess at his Hopes, by his attempting of the hardest part of the War first. The cause of this War he knoweth best. He alledgeth the entertaining and succouring of the Duke of Orleance, and some other French Lords, whom the King taketh for his Enemies. Others divine of other Matters. Both parts have by their Ambassadors divers times prayed the King's Aids: The French King, Aids or Neutrality; the Britons, Aids simply; for so their case requireth. The King, as a Christian Prince, and blessed Son of the Holy Church, hath offered himself as a Mediator, to treat a Peace between them. The French King yieldeth to Treat, but will not stay the prosecution of the War. The Britons, that desire Peace most, hearken to it least; not upon confidence or stiffness, but upon distrust of true meaning, seeing the War goes on. So as the King; after as much pains and care to effect a Peace, as ever he took in any business, not being able to remove the Prosecution on the one side, nor the Distrust on the other, caused by that Prosecution, hath let fall this Treaty; not repenting of it, but despairing of it now, as not likely to succeed. Therefore by this Narrative you now understand the state of the Question, whereupon the King prayeth your Advice; which is no other, but whether he shall enter into an auxiliary and defensive war for the Britons, against France.

And the better to open your understandings in this Affair, the King hath commanded me to say somewhat to you from him, of the Persons that do intervene in this Business; and somewhat of the Consequence thereof, as it hath relation to this Kingdom; and somewhat of the Example of it in general: making nevertheless no Conclusion or Judgement of any Point, until his Grace hath received your faithful and politique Advices.

First, for the King our Sovereign himself, who is the principal Person you are to eye in this business; his Grace doth profess, that he truly and constantly desireth to reign in Peace. But his Grace saith, he will neither buy Peace with Dishonour, nor take it up at interest of Danger to ensue; but shall think it a good Change, if it pleased God to change the inward Troubles and Seditions, wherewith he hath been hitherto exercised, into an honourable Foreign War. And for the other two Persons in this Action, the French King, and the Duke of Britain, his Grace doth declare unto you, that they be the men; unto whom he is of all other Friends and Allies most bounden: the one having held over him his hand of Protection from the Tyrant; the other having reacht forth unto him his hand of help, for the Recovery of his Kingdom. So that his affection toward them in his natural Person, is upon equal

terms. And whereas you may have heard, that his Grace was enforced to fly out of Britain into France, for doubts of being betrayed; his Grace would not in any sort have that reflect upon the Duke of Britain, in defacement of his former benefits: for that he is thoroughly informed, that it was but the practice of some corrupt persons about him, during the time of his Sickness, altogether without his consent or privity.

But howsoever these things do interest his Grace in his particular, yet he knoweth well that the higher Bond that tyeth him to procure by all means the safety and welfare of his loving Subjects, doth dis-interest him of these Obligations of Gratitude, otherwise than thus; that if his Grace be forced to make a war, he do it without Passion, or Ambition.

For the consequence of this Action towards this Kingdom, it is much as the French King's intention is. For if it be no more, but to range his Subjects to reason, who bear themselves stout upon the strength of the Duke of Britain, it is nothing to us. But if it be in the French King's purpose, or if it should not be in his purpose, yet if it shall follow all one, as if it were sought, that the French King shall make a Province of Britain, and joyn it to the Crown of France: then it is worthy the consideration, how this may import England, as well in the increasement of the greatness of France, by the addition of such a Countrey, that stretcheth his Boughs unto our Seas, as in depriving this Nation, and leaving it so naked of so firm and assured Confederates, as the Britons have always been. For then it will come to pass, that whereas not long since, this Realm was mighty upon the Continent, first in Territory, and after in Alliance, in respect of Burgundy and Britain, which were Confederates indeed, but dependant Confederates; now the one being already cast, partly into the greatness of France, and partly into that of Austria, the other is like wholly to be cast into the greatness of France, and this Island shall remain confined in effect within the Salt-waters, and girt about with the Coast-Countries of two mighty Monarchs.

For the Example, it resteth likewise upon the same Question, upon the French King's intent. For if Britain be carried and swallowed up by France, as the world abroad (apt to impute and construe the Actions of Princes to Ambition) conceive it will; then it is an Example very dangerous and universal, that the lesser Neighbour-Estate should be devoured of the greater. For this may be the case of Scotland, towards England; of Portugal, towards Spain; of the smaller Estates of Italy, towards the greater; and so of Germany; or as if some of you of the Commons might not live and dwell safely, besides some of these great Lords. And the bringing in of this Example, will be chiefly laid to the King's charge, as to him that was most interestted and most able to forbid it. But then on the other side, there is so fair a Pretext on the French King's part, (and yet pretext is never wanting to power) in regard the danger imminent to his own Estate is such, as may make this Enterprize seem rather a work of Necessity, than of Ambition,

Ambition, as doth in reason correct the Danger of the Example. For that the Example of that which is done in a man's own defence, cannot be dangerous; because it is in another's power to avoid it. But in all this business, the King remits himself to your grave and mature Advice, whereupon he purposeth to rely.

This was the effect of the Lord Chancellor's Speech touching the Cause of Britain: For the King had commanded him to carry it so, as to affect the Parliament towards the Business; but without engaging the King in any express Declaration.

The Chancellor went on:

FOR that which may concern the Government at home, the King hath commanded me to say unto you; That he thinketh there was never any King (for the small time that he hath reigned) had greater and juster cause of the two contrary Passions of Joy and Sorrow, than his Grace hath. Joy, in respect of the rare and visible Favours of Almighty GOD in girding the Imperial Sword upon his side, and assisting the same his Sword against all his Enemies: and likewise in blessing him with so many good and loving Servants and Subjects, which have never failed to give him faithful Counsel, ready Obedience, and courageous Defence. Sorrow, for that it hath not pleased God to suffer him to sheath his Sword, (as he greatly desired, otherwise than for Administration of Justice) but that he hath been forced to draw it so oft, to cut off Trayterous and disloyal Subjects, whom (it seems) God hath left (a few amongst many good) as the Canaanites among the People of Israel, to be thorns in their sides, to tempt and try them; though the end hath been always (God's Name be blessed therefore) that the Destruction hath fallen upon their own Heads.

Wherefore his Grace saith; That he seeth, that it is not the Blood spilt in the Field, that will save the Blood in the City; nor the Marshal's Sword, that will set this Kingdom in perfect Peace: But that the true way is, to stop the Seeds of Sedition and Rebellion in their beginnings; and for that purpose to devise, confirm, and quicken good and wholsom Laws, against Riots and unlawful Assemblies of People, and all Combinations and Confederacies of them, by Liveries, Tokens, and other Badges of Factions dependance; that the Peace of the Land may by these Ordinances, as by Bars of Iron, be soundly bound in and strengthened, and all Force, both in Court, Countrey, and private Houses, be suppressed. The care hereof, which so much concerneth your selves, and which the nature of the Times doth instantly call for, his Grace commends to your Wisdoms.

And because it is the King's desire, that this Peace, wherein he hopeth to govern and maintain you, do not bear only unto you. Leaves for you to sit under the shade of them in Safety; but also should bear you fruit of Riches, Wealth and Plenty: Therefore his Grace prays you,

to take into consideration matter of Trade, as also the Manufactures of the Kingdom, and to repress the bastard and barren Employment of Moneys, to Usury and unlawful Exchanges, that they may be (as their natural use is) turned upon Commerce, and lawful and Royal Trading. And likewise, that Our People be set on work in Arts and Handicrafts; that the Realm may subsist more of it self; that Idleness be avoided, and the draining out of our Treasure, for Foreign Manufactures, stopped. But you are not to rest here only, but to provide further, that whatsoever Merchandize shall be brought in from beyond the Seas, may be employed upon the Commodities of this Land; whereby the Kingdoms stock of Treasure may be sure to be kept from being diminished, by any over-trading of the Foreiner.

And lastly, because the King is well assured, that you would not have him poor, that wishes you rich; he doubteth not, but that you will have care, as well to maintain his Revenues, of Customs; and all other Natures, as also to supply him with your loving Ayds, if the case shall so require. The rather, for that you know the King is a good Husband, and but a Steward in effect for the Publick; and that what comes from you is but as Moisture drawn from the Earth, which gathers into a Cloud, and falls back upon the Earth again. And you know well, how the Kingdoms about you grow more and more in Greatness, and the Times are stirring; and therefore not fit to find the King with an empty Purse. More I have not to say to you; and wish, that what hath been said, had been better expressed: But that your Wisdoms and good Affections will supply. GOD bless your Doings.

IT was no hard matter to dispose and affect the Parliament in this Business, as well in respect of the Emulation between the Nations, and the Envy at the late growth of the French Monarchy; as in regard of the Danger, to suffer the French to make their approaches upon England, by obtaining so goodly a Maritim Province, full of Sea-Towns, and Havens, that might do mischief to the English, either by Invasion, or by interruption of Traffick. The Parliament was also moved with the point of Oppression; for although the French seemed to speak Reason, yet Arguments are ever with multitudes too weak for Suspitions. Wherefore they did advise the King roundly to embrace the Britons Quarrel, and to send them speedy Ayds, and with much alacrity and forwardness granted to the King a great rate of Subsidy, in contemplation of these Ayds. But the King both to keep a decency towards the French King, to whom he professed himself to be obliged, and indeed desirous rather to shew War, than to make it; sent new solemn Ambassadors to intimate unto him, the Decree of his Estates, and to iterate his motion, that the French would desist from Hostility; or if War must follow, to desire him to take it in good part, if at the motion of his People, who were sensible of the cause of the Britons as the ancient Friends,

Friends, and Confederates, he did send them Succours; with protestation nevertheless, that to save all Treaties and Laws of Friendship, he had limited his Force, to proceed in ayd of the *Britons*, but in no wise to war upon the *French*, otherwise than as they maintained the possession of *Britain*. But before this formal Ambassage arrived, the *Party* of the Duke had received a great blow, and grew to manifest declination. For near the Town of Saint *Alban* in *Britain*, a Battel had been given, where the *Britons* were overthrown, and the Duke of *Orleance*, and the Prince of *Orange* taken Prisoners; there being slain on the *Britons* part six thousand men, and amongst them the Lord *Woodville*, and almost all his Souldiers, valiantly fighting. And of the *French* part one thousand two hundred, with their Leader, *James Galeot*, a great Commander.

When the news of this Battel came over into *England*, it was time for the King (who now had no subterfuge to continue further *Treaty*, and saw before his Eyes, that *Britain* went so speedily for lost, contrary to his hopes, knowing also that with his People and Foreiners both, he sustained no small Envy and disreputation for his former delays) to dispatch with all possible speed his Succour into *Britain*; which he did under the Conduct of *Robert Lord Brook*, to the number of eight thousand choise men, and well armed; who having a fair wind, in few hours landed in *Britain*, and joyned themselves forthwith to those *Briton* Forces, that remained after the Defeat, and marched straight on to find the *Enemy*, and encamped fast by them. The *French* wisely husbanding the possession of a Victory, and well acquainted with the Courage of the *English*, especially when they are fresh, kept themselves within their Trenches, being strongly lodged, and resolved not to give Battel. But meanwhile, to harraß and weary the *English*, they did upon all advantages set upon them with their *Light-horse*; wherein nevertheless they received commonly loss, especially by means of the *English* Archers.

But upon these Atchievements *Francis Duke of Britain* deceased; an accident that the King might easily have foreseen, and ought to have reckoned upon, and provided for, but that the Point of *Reputation*, when news first came of the Battel lost, (that somewhat must be done) did over-bear the *Reason* of War.

After the Duke's decease, the principal persons of *Britain*; partly bought, partly through faction, put all things into confusion; so as the *English* not finding Head or Body with whom to joyn their Forces, and being in jealousy of *Friends*, as well as in danger of *Enemies*, and the Winter begun, returned home five Months after their landing. So the Battel of Saint *Alban*, the death of the Duke, and the retire of the *English* Succours were (after some time) the causes of the loss of that *Duchy*; which

which action some accounted as a blemish of the King's Judgement; but most, but as the misfortune of his times.

But howsoever the temporary Fruit of the *Parliament* in their Ayd and Advice given for *Britain*, took not, nor prospered not; yet the lasting Fruit of *Parliament*, which is good and wholesom Laws, did prosper, and doth yet continue to this day. For according to the Lord *Chancellor's* admonition, there were that *Parliament* divers excellent Laws ordained, concerning the Points which the King recommended.

First, the Authority of the *Star-Chamber*, which before subsisted by the ancient Common-Laws of the Realm, was confirmed in certain Cases by Act of *Parliament*. This Court is one of the sagest and noblest Institutions of this Kingdom. For in the distribution of Courts of Ordinary Justice (besides the High Court of *Parliament*) in which distribution the *King's-Bench* holdeth the *Pleas* of the *Crown*, the *Common-Place*, *Pleas-Civil*, the *Exchequer-Pleas* concerning the King's Revenue, and the *Chancery* the Pretorian power for mitigating the rigour of Law, in case of extremity, by the conscience of a good man; there was nevertheless always reserved a high and preheminent power to the King's *Council*, in Causes that might in example, or consequence, concern the state of the Common-wealth, which if they were Criminal, the *Council* used to sit in the *Chamber*, called the *Star-Chamber*; if Civil, in the *White-Chamber*, or *White-Hall*. And as the *Chancery* had the Pretorian power for Equity, so the *Star-Chamber* had the Cenforian power for Offences, under the degree of Capital. This Court of *Star-Chamber* is compounded of good Elements: for it consisteth of four kinds of Persons; Counsellors, Peers, Prelates, and chief Judges. It discerneth also principally of four kinds of Causes; Forces, Frauds, Crimes various of *Stellionate*, and the Inchoations or middle acts towards Crimes capital, or heinous, not actually committed or perpetrated. But that which was principally aimed at by this act was Force, and the two chief Supports of Force, Combination of Multitudes, and Maintenance or Headship of Great persons.

From the general peace of the *Countrey*, the King's care went on to the peace of the *King's House*, and the security of his great Officers and Counsellors. But this Law was somewhat of a strange composition and temper; That if any of the King's Servants under the degree of a Lord, do conspire the death of any of the King's *Council*, or Lord of the Realm, it is made Capital. This Law was thought to be procured by the Lord *Chancellor*, who being a stern and haughty man, and finding he had some mortal Enemies in Court; provided for his own safety; drowning the envy of it in a general Law, by communicating the priviledge with all other Counsellors and Peers, and yet not daring to extend it further,

further, than to the King's Servants in *Check-roll*, lest it should have been too harsh to the Gentlemen, and other Commons of the Kingdom; who might have thought their ancient Liberty, and the clemency of the Laws of *England* invaded, *If the will in any case of Felony should be made the deed.* And yet the reason which the Act yieldeth (that is to say, *That he that conspireth the death of Counsellors may be thought indirectly, and by a mean, to conspire the death of the King himself,*) is indifferent to all *Subjects*, as well as to *Servants* in Court. But it seemeth this sufficed to serve the Lord *Chancellor's* turn at this time. But yet he lived to need a General Law, for that he grew afterwards as odious to the *Countrey*, as he was then to the *Court*.

From the peace of the King's House, the King's care extended to the peace of *Private Houses* and *Families*. For there was an excellent Moral Law molded thus; The taking and carrying away of *Women* forcibly, and against their will (except *Female-Wards* and *Bond-Women*) was made Capital. The *Parliament* wisely and justly conceiving, that the obtaining of *Women* by force into *Possession* (howsoever afterwards Assent might follow by *Allurements*) was but a *Rape* drawn forth in length, because the first Force drew on all the rest.

There was made also another Law for Peace in general, and repressing of *Murthers* and *Man-slaughters*, and was in amendment of the Common Laws of the Realm, being this: That whereas by the Common Law, the King's Suit in case of *Homicide*, did expect the *Year* and the *Day*, allowed to the Parties Suit by way of *Appeal*; and that it was found by experience, that the Party was many times compounded with, and many times wearied with the Suit, so that in the end such Suit was let fall, and by that time the matter was in a manner forgotten, and thereby *Prosecution* at the King's Suit by *Indictment* (which is ever best, *Flagrante crimine*) neglected; it was Ordained, That the Suit by *Indictment* might be taken as well at any time within the *Year* and the *Day*, as after, not prejudicing nevertheless the Parties Suit.

The King began also then, as well in Wisdom as in Justice to pare a little the Priviledge of Clergy, ordaining, *That Clerks convicted should be burned in the hand*; both because they might taste of some corporal Punishment, and that they might carry a *Brand* of Infamy. But for this good Acts sake, the King himself was after branded by *Perkin's* Proclamation, for an execrable breaker of the Rites of *Holy Church*.

Another Law was made for the better Peace of the *Countrey*; by which Law the King's Officers and Farmors were to forfeit their Places and Holds, in case of unlawful *Retainer*, or partaking in *Routs* and unlawful Assemblies.

These were the Laws that were made for repressing of *Force*, which

which those times did chiefly require; and were so prudently framed, as they are found fit for all succeeding times, and so continue to this day.

There were also made good and politick Laws that *Parliament* against *Usury*, which is the *Bastard-use* of Money; And against unlawful *Chievances* and *Exchanges*, which is *Bastard-Usury*; And also for the Security of the King's *Customs*; And for the Employment of the *Procedures* of Foreign Commodities, brought in by *Merchant-strangers*, upon the Native-Commodities of the Realm; together with some other Laws of less importance.

But howsoever the Laws made in that *Parliament* did bear good and wholesom Fruit; yet the *Subsidy* granted at the same time, bare a Fruit, that proved harsh and bitter. All was inned at last into the King's Barn; but it was after a *Storm*. For when the Commissioners entred into the Taxation of the *Subsidy* in *Yorkshire*, and the Bishoprick of *Duresm*; the People upon a sudden grew into great mutiny, and said openly, that they had endured of late years a thousand miseries, and neither could nor would pay the *Subsidy*. This (no doubt) proceeded not simply of any present necessity, but much by reason of the old humour of those Countries, where the memory of King *Richard* was so strong, that it lyes like *Lees* in the bottom of mens hearts; and if the *Vessel* was but stirred, it would come up. And (no doubt) it was partly also by the instigation of some factious Malecontents, that bare principal stroke amongst them. Hereupon the *Commissioners* being somewhat astonished, deferred the matter unto the Earl of *Northumberland*, who was the principal man of Authority in those Parts. The Earl forthwith wrote unto the Court, signifying to the King plainly enough in what flame he found the people of those Countries, and praying the King's direction. The King wrote back peremptorily, That he would not have one penny abated, of that which had been granted to him by *Parliament*, both because it might encourage other Countries to pray the like Release or Mitigation; and chiefly, because he would never endure, that the bale *Multitude* should frustrate the Authority of the *Parliament*, wherein their *Votes* and *Consents* were concluded. Upon this dispatch from Court, the Earl assembled the principal *Justices* and *Free-holders* of the Countrey; and speaking to them in that imperious Language wherein the King had written to him, which needed not, (save that an harsh business was unfortunately fallen into the hands of a harsh man,) did not only irritate the People, but make them conceive, by the stoutness and haughtiness of delivery of the King's Errand; that himself was the Author or principal Perswader of that Counsel. Whereupon the meaner sort routed together, and suddenly assailing the Earl in his house, slew him, and divers of his servants. And rested not there, but creating for their Leader Sir

John:

John Egremont, a factious person, and one that had of a long time born an ill *Talent* towards the King; and being animated also by a base Fellow, called *John A Chamber*, a very Boutefeu, who bare much sway amongst the vulgar and popular, entred into open Rebellion, and gave out in flat terms that they would go against King *Henry*, and fight with him for the maintenance of their Liberties.

When the King was advertised of this new *Insurrection* (being almost a Fever that took him every year) after his manner little troubled therewith, he sent *Thomas Earl of Surrey* (whom he had a little before not only released out of the *Tower*, and pardoned, but also received to special favour) with a competent Power against the *Rebels*; who fought with the principal Band of them, and defeated them, and took alive *John A Chamber*, their fire-brand. As for Sir *John Egremont*, he fled into *Flanders*, to the Lady *Margaret of Burgundy*; whose Palace was the *Sanctuary* and *Receptacle* of all Traytors against the King. *John A Chamber* was Executed at *Tork*, in great state; for he was hanged upon a Gibbet raised a Stage higher in the midst of a square Gallows, as a Traytor paramount; and a number of his men that were his chief Complices, were hanged upon the lower Story round about him; and the rest were generally pardoned. Neither did the King himself omit his custom, to be first or second in all his Warlike Exploits; making good his Word, which was usual with him when he heard of *Rebels*; that He desired but to see them. For immediately after he had sent down the Earl of *Surrey*, he marched towards them himself in person. And although in his journey he heard news of the Victory, yet he went on as far as *Tork*; to pacifie and settle those Countries. And that done returned to *London*, leaving the Earl of *Surrey* for his Lieutenant in the Northern parts, and Sir *Richard Tunstall* for his principal Commissioner, to levy the *Subsidy*, whereof he did not remit a *Denier*.

About the same time that the King lost so good a Servant, as the Earl of *Northumberland*, he lost likewise a faithful Friend and Allie of *James the Third*, King of *Scotland*, by a miserable disaster. For this unfortunate Prince, after a long smother of discontent, and hatred of many of his Nobility and People, breaking forth at times into seditions and alterations of Court, was at last distressed by them, having taken Arms, and surpris'd the person of Prince *James* his Son, partly by force, partly by threats that they would otherwise deliver up the Kingdom to the King of *England*, to shadow their Rebellion, and to be the titular and painted Head of those Arms. Whereupon the King (finding himself too weak) sought unto King *Henry*, as also unto the Pope, and the King of *France*, to compose those troubles, between him and his Subjects. The King accordingly interposed their Mediation in a round and Princely manner: Not only by way of

request and perswasion, but also by way of protestation of menace; declaring, that they thought it to be the common Cause of all Kings, *If Subjects should be suffered to give Laws unto their Sovereign*; and that they would accordingly resent it, and revenge it. But the *Rebels* that had shaken off the greater *Tyke* of Obedience, had likewise cast away the lesser *Tye* of Respect. And *Fury* prevailing above *Fear*, made answer, That there was no talking of Peace, except the King would resign his Crown. Whereupon (Treaty of Accord taking no place) it came to a Battel, at *Bannocks-bourn* by *Strivelin*. In which Battel, the King transported with wrath and just indignation, inconsiderately fighting and precipitating the charge, before his whole numbers came up to him, was (notwithstanding the contrary exprefs and straight commandment of the *Prince* his Son) slain in the Pursuit, being fled to a Mill, situate in the field, where the Battel was fought.

As for the *Pope's* Embassy, which was sent by *Adrian de Castello* an *Italian* Legate, (and perhaps, as those times were, might have prevailed more) it came too late for the Embassy, but not for the Ambassador. For passing through *England*, and being honourably entertained; and received of King *Henry*; (who ever applied himself with much respect to the See of *Rome*) he fell into great grace with the King, and great familiarity and friendship with *Morton* the Chancellor. In so much as the King taking a liking to him, and finding him to his mind, preferred him to the Bishoprick of *Hereford*, and afterwards to that of *Bath* and *Wells*, and employed him in many of his affairs of State, that had relation to *Rome*. He was a man of great learning, wisdom, and dexterity in business of State; and having not long after ascended to the degree of *Cardinal*, payd the King large tribute of his gratitude, in diligent and judicious advertisement of the occurrents of *Italy*. Nevertheless in the end of his time, he was partaker of the conspiracy, which Cardinal *Alphonso Petrucci*, and some other Cardinals had plotted against the life of *Pope Leo*. And this offence in it self so heinous; was yet in him aggravated by the motive thereof, which was not malice or discontent, but an aspiring mind to the Papacy. And in this height of impiety there wanted not an intermixture of levity and folly; for that (as was generally believed) he was animated to expect the Papacy, by a fatal mockery, the Prediction of a *Soothsayer*; which was, That one should succeed *Pope Leo*, whose name should be *Adrian*, an aged man of mean birth, and of great learning and wisdom. By which character, and figure, he took himself to be described, though it were fulfilled of *Adrian* the *Fleming*, Son of a Dutch Brewer, Cardinal of *Tortosa*, and Preceptor unto *Charles* the Fifth, the same that not changing his Christen-name, was afterward called *Adrian* the Sixth.

But

But these things happened in the year following, which was the fifth of this King. But in the end of the fourth year the King had called again his *Parliament*, not as it seemeth for any particular occasion of State. But the former *Parliament* being ended somewhat suddenly, in regard of the preparation for *Britain*, the King thought he had not remunerated his People sufficiently with good *Laws*, which evermore was his Retribution for Treasure. And finding by the Insurrection in the *North*, there was discontentment abroad, in respect of the *Subsidy*, he thought it good to give his Subjects yet further contentment, and comfort in that kind. Certainly his times for good *Commonwealths Laws* did excell. So as he may justly be celebrated for the best *Law-giver* to this Nation, after King *Edward* the First. For his *Laws* (who so marks them well) are deep, and not vulgar: not made upon the spur of a particular Occasion for the present, but out of Providence of the future, to make the Estate of his People still more and more happy; after the manner of the *Legislators* in ancient and Heroical times.

First therefore he made a *Law*, suitable to his own Acts and Times. For as himself had in his Person and Marriage made a final Concord, in the great Suit and Title for the *Crown*; so by this *Law* he settled the like Peace and Quiet in the private Possessions of the Subjects. Ordaining, *That Fines thence-forth should be final, to conclude all Strangers Rights*; and that upon *Fines* levied, and solemnly proclaimed, the *Subject* should have his time of Watch for five years after his Title accrued; which if he forepassed, his Right should be bound for ever after; with some exception nevertheless, of *Minors*, Married-women, and such incompetent Persons.

This *Statute* did in effect but restore an ancient Statute of the Realm, which was it self also made but in affirmance of the *Common-Law*. The alteration had been by a Statute, commonly called the Statute of *Non-claim*, made in the time of *Edward* the Third. And surely this *Law* was a kind of *Prognostick* of the good Peace, which since his time hath (for the most part) continued in this Kingdom, until this day. For Statutes of *Non-claim* are fit for times of War, when mens heads are troubled, that they cannot intend their Estate; but Statutes, that quiet *Possessions*, are fittest for times of Peace, to extinguish Suits and Contentions, which is one of the *Banes* of Peace.

Another *Statute* was made of singular *Policy*, for the Population apparently, and (if it be thoroughly considered) for the *Soldiery*, and *Militar Forces* of the Realm.

Inclosures at that time began to be more frequent; whereby Arable Land (which could not be manured without People and Families) was turned into Pasture, which was easily rid by a few *Herdsmen*; and Tenancies for *Years*, *Lives*, and *At Will*

(whereupon much of the *Teomanry* lived) were turned into Demefines. This bred a decay of People, and (by consequence) a decay of *Towns*, *Churches*, *lythes*, and the like. The King likewise knew full well, and in no wise forgot, that there ensued withal upon this a decay and diminution of *Subsidy* and *Taxes*; for the more Gentlemen, ever the lower Books of *Subsidies*. In remedying of this inconvenience, the King's Wisdom was admirable, and the *Parliaments* at that time. *Inclosures* they would not forbid, for that had been to forbid the improvement of the *Patrimony* of the Kingdom; nor *Tillage* they would not compel, for that was to strive with Nature and Utility. But they took a courle to take away depopulating *Inclosures*, and depopulating *Pasturage*, and yet not by that name, or by any Imperious exprets *Prohibition*, but by consequence. The Ordinance was, *That all Houses of Husbandry, that were used with twenty Acres of Ground, and upwards, should be maintained and kept up for ever; together with a competent proportion of Land to be used and occupied with them; and in no wise to be severed from them, as by another Statute, made afterwards in his Successors time, was more fully declared.* This upon Forfeiture to be taken; not by way of Popular *Action*, but by seisure of the Land it self, by the King and Lords of the *Fee*, as to half the Profits, till the Houses and Lands were restored. By this means the Houses being kept up, did of necessity enforce a *Dweller*; and the proportion of Land for Occupation being kept up, did of necessity enforce that *Dweller*, not to be a Beggar or *Cottager*, but a man of some substance, that might keep Hinds and Servants, and set the Plough on going. This did wonderfully concern the *Might* and *Manner-hood* of the Kingdom, to have Farms, as it were of a *Standard* sufficient to maintain an able Body out of Penury, and did in effect amortize a great part of the Lands of the Kingdom unto the Hold and Occupation of the *Teomanry* or *Middle people*, of a condition between *Gentlemen* and *Cottagers* or *Pesants*. Now, how much this did advance the *Militar power* of the Kingdom, is apparent by the true *Principles* of War, and the examples of other Kingdoms. For it hath been held by the general Opinion of men of best Judgement in the Wars (howsoever some few have varied, and that it may receive some distinction of Case) that the principal strength of an Army consisteth in the *Infantry* or *Foot*. And to make good *Infantry*, it requireth men bred, not in a servile or indigent fashion, but in some free and plentiful manner. Therefore if a *State* run most to *Noble-men* and *Gentlemen*, and that the *Husband-men* and *Plough-men* be but as their Work-folks and Labourers, or else meer *Cottagers*, (which are but *Housed-Beggars*) you may have a good *Cavalry*, but never good stable Bands of *Foot*; like to *Coppice-Woods*, that if you leave in them *Staddles* too thick, they will run to Bushes and Bryars, and have little clean Under-wood.

wood. And this is to be seen in *France*, and *Italy*, and some other parts abroad, where in effect all is *Nobleß*, or *Pesantry*, I speak of people out of Towns, and no middle people; and therefore no good Forces of *Foot*: In so much, as they are enforced to employ Mercenary Bands, of *Switzers* and the like, for their *Battailions* of *Foot*: Whereby also it comes to pass, that those Nations have much People, and few Soldiers. Whereas the King saw, that contrariwise it would follow, that *England*, though much less in Territory, yet should have infinitely more *Soldiers* of their native Forces, than those other Nations have. Thus did the King secretly sow *Hidra's* teeth, whereupon (according to the *Poets* fiction) should rise up *Armed men* for the service of the Kingdom.

The King also (having care to make his Realm potent, as well by *Sea* as by *Land*) for the better maintenance of the *Navy*, Ordained, *That wines and Woods from the parts of Gascoign and Languedock, should not be brought but in English Bottoms*; Bowing the ancient Policy of this Estate, from consideration of *Plenty*, to consideration of *Power*. For that almost all the ancient *Statutes* incite by all means *Merchant-strangers*, to bring in all sorts of Commodities; having for end *cheapness*, and not looking to the point of *State* concerning the *Naval-power*.

The King also made a *Statute* in that *Parliament* Monitory and Minatory, towards *Justices of Peace*, that they should duly execute their Office, inviting complaints against them, first to their *Fellow Justices*, then to the *Justices of Assize*, then to the *King* or *Chancellor*; and that a *Proclamation*, which he had published of that Tenor, should be read in open *Sessions* four times a year, to keep them awake. Meaning also to have his Laws executed, and thereby to reap either *Obedience* or *Forfeitures*; (wherein towards his latter times he did decline too much to the left hand) he did ordain remedy against the practice that was grown in use, to stop and damp *Informations* upon *Penal Laws*, by procuring *Informations* by collusion to be put in by the Confederates of the Delinquents, to be faintly prosecuted, and let fall at pleasure, and pleading them in Bar of the *Informations*, which were prosecuted with effect.

He made also *Laws* for the correction of the *Mint*, and counterfeiting of *Forcin Coyn* currant. And that no payment in *Gold* should be made to any *Merchant-stranger*, the better to keep *Treasure* within the Realm, for that *Gold* was the metal that lay in least room.

He made also *Statutes* for the maintenance of *Drapery*, and the keeping of *Wools* within the Realm; and not only so, but for stinting, and limiting the prices of *Cloth*, one for the *finer*, and another for the *coursier* sort. Which I note, both because it was a rare thing to set prices by *Statute*, especially upon our Home-Commodities; and because of the wise *Model* of the *Act*, not prescribing

prescribing Prices, but stinting them not to exceed a rate, that the *clothier* might drape accordingly as he might afford.

Divers other good *Statutes* were made that *Parliament*, but these were the principal. And here I do desire those, into whose hands this Work shall fall, that they do take in good part my long insisting upon the *Laws* that were made in this King's Reign; whereof I have these reasons: Both because it was the pre eminent virtue and merit of this King, to whose memory I do honour, and because it hath some correspondence to my Person; but chiefly, because (in my judgement) it is some defect even in the best Writers of *History*, that they do not often enough summarily deliver and set down the most memorable *Laws*, that passed in the times whereof they write, being indeed the principal *Acts* of Peace. For although they may be had in *Original Books* of *Law* themselves; yet that informeth not the judgement of *Kings* and *Counsellors*, and *Persons* of *Estate*, so well as to see them described, and entred in the *Table* and *Pourtrait* of the Times.

About the same time, the King had a *Loan* from the *City* of *Four thousand pounds*; which was double to that they lent before, and was duely and orderly payd back at the day, as the former likewise had been; the King ever choosing rather to borrow too soon, than to pay too late, and so keeping up his *Credit*.

Neither had the King yet cast off his cares and hopes touching *Britain*, but thought to master the occasion by Policy, though his Arms had been unfortunate, and to bereave the *French King* of the fruit of his *Victory*. The summ of his design was, to encourage *Maximilian* to go on with his suit, for the Marriage of *Ann*, the Heir of *Britain*, and to ayd him to the consummation thereof. But the affairs of *Maximilian* were at that time in great trouble and combustion, by a *Rebellion* of his Subjects in *Flanders*; especially those of *Bruges* and *Gannt*, whereof the Town of *Bruges* (at such time as *Maximilian* was there in person) had suddenly armed in tumult, and slain some of his principal Officers, and taken himself prisoner, and held him in durance, till they had enforced him, and some of his Counsellors, to take a solemn Oath to pardon all their offences, and never to question and revenge the same in time to come. Nevertheless *Frederick* the Emperor would not suffer this reproach and indignity offered to his Son to pass, but made sharp Wars upon *Flanders*, to reclaim and chastise the Rebels. But the Lord *Ravenstein*, a principal person about *Maximilian*, and one that had taken the Oath of *Abolition* with his Master, pretending the Religion thereof, but indeed upon private ambition, and (as it was thought) instigated and corrupted from *France*, forsook the Emperor and *Maximilian* his Lord, and made himself an Head of the popular Party, and seized upon the Towns of *Ipre* and *Sluce*, with both the Castles; and forthwith sent to the Lord *Cordes*, Governour of *Picardy* under the

the *French* King, to desire ayd, and to move him, that he on the behalf of the *French* King would be *Protector* of the united Towns; and by force of Arms reduce the rest. The Lord *Cordes* was ready to embrace the occasion, which was partly of his own setting, and sent forthwith greater Forces, than it had been possible for him to raise on the sudden, if he had not looked for such a summons before, in ayd of the Lord *Ravenstein*, and the *Flemmings*, with instructions to invest the Towns between *France* and *Bruges*. The *French* Forces besieged a little Town called *Dixmuc*, where part of the *Flemish* Forces joyned with them. While they lay at this siege, the King of *England*, upon pretence of the safety of the *English* Pale about *Calice*, but in truth being loth that *Maximilian* should become contemptible, and thereby be shaken off by the States of *Britain* about this Marriage, sent over the Lord *Morley* with a thousand men unto the Lord *Daubigny*, then Deputy of *Calice*, with secret instructions to ayd *Maximilian*; and to raise the siege of *Dixmuc*. The Lord *Daubigny* (giving it out that all was for the strengthning of the *English* Marches) drew out of the Garrisons, of *Calice*, *Hammes*, and *Guines*, to the number of a thousand men more. So that with the fresh Succours that came under the Conduct of the Lord *Morley*, they made up to the number of two thousand, or better. Which Forces joyning with some Companies of *Almains*, put themselves into *Dixmuc*, not perceived by the Enemies; and passing through the Town with some re-enforcement, (from the Forces that were in the Town) assailed the Enemies Camp, negligently guarded, as being out of fear; where there was a bloody Fight, in which the *English* and their Partakers obtained the Victory, and slew to the number of eight thousand men, with the loss on the *English* part of a hundred or thereabouts; amongst whom was the Lord *Morley*. They took also their great Ordnance, with much rich spoils, which they carried to *Newport*, whence the Lord *Daubigny* returned to *Calice*, leaving the hurt men, and some other Voluntaries in *Newport*. But the Lord *Cordes* being at *Ipre* with a great power of men, thinking to recover the loss and disgrace of the Fight at *Dixmuc*, came presently on, and sat down before *Newport* and besieged it; and after some days siege, he resolved to try the fortune of an Assault: Which he did one day, and succeeded therein so far, that he had taken the principal Tower and Fort in that City, and planted upon it the *French* Banner. Whence nevertheless they were presently beaten forth by the *English*, by the help of some fresh Succours of Archers arriving by good fortune (at the instant) in the Haven of *Newport*; Whereupon the Lord *Cordes* discouraged, and measuring the new Succours (which were small) by the Success, (which was great,) levied his Siege. By this means, matters grew more exasperate between the two Kings of *England* and *France*, for that in the

War

War of *Flanders*, the auxiliary Forces of *French* and *English* were much blooded one against another. Which Blood rankled the more, by the vain words of the Lord *Cordes*, that declared himself an open Enemy of the *English*, beyond that that appertained to the present Service; making it a common by-word of his, *That he could be content to lye in Hell seven years, so he might win Calice from the English.*

The King having thus upheld the Reputation of *Maximilian*, advised him now to press on his Marriage with *Britain* to a conclusion. Which *Maximilian* accordingly did, and so far forth prevailed both with the young Lady, and with the principal persons about her, as the Marriage was consummate by *Proxy*, with a *Ceremony* at that time in these parts new. For she was not only publickly contracted, but stated as a *Bride*, and solemnly Bedded; and after she was laid, there came in *Maximilian's* Ambassador with Letters of *Procuracion*, and in the presence of sundry Noble Personages, Men and Women, put his Leg (stript naked to the Knee) between the Espousal-Sheets; to the end, that that *Ceremony* might be thought to amount to a Consummation, and actual Knowledge. This done, *Maximilian* (whose property was to leave things then, when they were almost come to perfection, and to end them by imagination; like ill Archers, that draw not their Arrows up to the Head: and who might as easily have Bedded the Lady himself, as to have made a *Play* and *Disguise* of it) thinking now all assured; neglected for a time his further proceeding, and intended his Wars. Mean-while, the *French* King (consulting with his Divines, and finding that this pretended *Consummation* was rather an *Invention* of Court, than any ways valid by the Laws of the Church) went more really to work, and by secret Instruments and cunning Agents, as well *Matrons* about the young Lady, as *Counsellors*, first sought to remove the point of *Religion* and *Honour* out of the mind of the Lady her self, wherein there was a double labour. For *Maximilian* was not only contracted unto the Lady, but *Maximilian's* Daughter was likewise contracted to King *Charles*. So as the Marriage halted upon both feet, and was not clear on either side: But for the Contract with King *Charles*, the Exception lay plain and fair; for that *Maximilian's* Daughter was under years of *Consent*, and so not bound by Law, but a power of Disagreement left to either part. But for the Contract made by *Maximilian* with the Lady her self, they were harder driven; having nothing to alledge, but that it was done without the consent of her Sovereign Lord, King *Charles*, whose Ward and Client she was, and he to her in place of a Father; and therefore it was void, and of no force, for want of such Consent. Which defect (they said) though it would not evacuate a *Marriage*, after *Cohabitation*, and *Actual Consummation*, yet it was enough to make void

void a *Contract*. For as for a pretended *Consummation*, they made sport with it, and said; *That it was an argument, that Maximilian was a Widdower, and a cold wooer, that could content himself to be a Bridegroom by Deputy, and would not make a little Journey, to put all out of question.* So that the young Lady; wrought upon by these Reasons, finely instilled by such as the *French King*, (who spared for no Rewards or Promises) had made on his side; and allured likewise by the present Glory and Greatness of King *Charles*, (being also a young King, and a *Batchelor*) and loth to make her Countrey the Seat of a long and miserable War; secretly yielded to accept of King *Charles*. But during this secret Treaty with the Lady, the better to save it from Blasts of Opposition and Interruption, King *Charles* resorting to his wonted Arts, and thinking to carry the *Marriage*, as he had carried the Wars, by entertaining the King of *England* in vain belief, sent a solemn Ambassage by *Francis Lord of Luxemburg*, *Charles Marignian* and *Robert Gagnein*, General of the Order of the *Bonnes Hommes* of the *Trinity*, to treat Peace and League with the King; accoupling it with an *Article* in nature of a *Request*, that the *French King* might with the King's good will (according unto his right of *Seigniorie* and *Tutelage*) dispose of the Marriage of the young Duchess of *Britain*, as he should think good; offering by a Judicial proceeding to make void the Marriage of *Maximilian* by Proxy. Also all this while the better to amuse the World, he did continue in his Court and custody the Daughter of *Maximilian*, who formerly had been sent unto him, to be bred and educated in *France*; not dismissing or renvoying her; but contrariwise professing and giving out strongly, that he meant to proceed with that Match. And that for the Duchess of *Britain*, he desired only to preserve his right of *Seigniorie*, and to give her in Marriage to some such Allie, as might depend upon him.

When the three Commissioners came to the Court of *England*, they delivered their Ambassage unto the King, who remitted them to his *Council*; where some days after they had Audience, and made their Proposition by the *Prior* of the *Trinity*; (who though he were third in place, yet was held the best Speaker of them) to this effect:

My Lords, the King our Master, the greatest and mightiest King that reigned in *France* since *Charles the Great*, (whose Name he beareth) hath nevertheless thought it no disparagement to his Greatness, at this time to propound a Peace, yea, and to pray a Peace with the King of *England*. For which purpose he hath sent us his Commissioners instructed and enabled with full and ample power, to treat and conclude; giving us further in charge, to open in some other business the secrets of his own intentions. These be indeed the precious Love-tokens between great Kings, to communicate one

with another the true state of their Affairs, and to pass by nice Points of Honour, which ought not to give Law unto Affection. This I do assure your Lordships; It is not possible for you to imagine the true and cordial Love, that the King our Master beareth to your Sovereign, except you were near him, as we are. He useth his Name with so great respect; he remembreth their first acquaintance at Paris with so great contentment; nay, he never speaks of him, but that presently he falls into discourse of the miseries of great Kings, in that they cannot converse with their Equals, but with Servants. This affection to your King's Person and Virtues, GOD hath put into the Heart of our Master, no doubt for the good of Christendom, and for purposes yet unknown to us all. For other Root it cannot have, since it was the same to the Earl of Richmond, that it is now to the King of England. This is therefore the first motive that makes our King to desire Peace, and League with your Sovereign: Good affection, and somewhat that he finds in his own Heart. This affection is also armed with reason of Estate. For our King doth in all candour and frankness of dealing open himself unto you; that having an honourable, yea, and a Holy purpose, to make a Voyage and war in remote parts, he considereth that it will be of no small effect, in point of Reputation to his Enterprize, if it be known abroad, that he is in good peace with all his Neighbour Princes, and specially with the King of England, whom for good causes he esteemeth most.

But now (my Lords) give me leave to use a few words to remove all scruples and mis-understandings, between your Sovereign and ours, concerning some late Actions; which if they be not cleared, may perhaps hinder this Peace. To the end, that for matters past, neither King may conceive unkindness of other, nor think the other conceiveth unkindness of him. The late Actions are two; that of Britain, and that of Flanders. In both which, it is true, that the Subjects swords of both Kings, have encountred and stricken, and the ways and inclinations also of the two Kings, in respect of their Confederates and Allies, have severed.

For that of Britain, The King your Sovereign knoweth best what hath passed. It was a War of necessity on our Masters part. And though the Motives of it were sharp and piquant as could be, yet did he make that war rather with an Olive-branch, than a Laurel-branch in his hand, more desiring Peace than Victory. Besides, from time to time he sent (as it were) Blank-papers to your King, to write the conditions of Peace. For though both his Honour and Safety went upon it, yet he thought neither of them too precious, to put into the King of England's hands. Neither doth our King on the other side make any unfriendly interpretation, of your King's sending of Succours to the Duke of Britain; for the King knoweth well, that many things must be done of Kings for satisfaction of their People, and it is not hard to discern what is a King's own. But this matter of Britain is now (by the Act of GOD) ended and passed; and (as the King hopeth) like the way
of

of a Ship in the Sea, without leaving any impression in either of the Kings minds; as he is sure, for his part, it hath not done in his.

For the Action of Flanders; As the former of Britain was a War of Necessity, so this was a War of Justice; which with a good King is of equal necessity, with danger of Estate, for else he should leave to be a King. The Subjects of Burgundy are Subjects in Chief to the Crown of France, and their Duke the Homager and Vassal of France. They had wont to be good Subjects, howsoever Maximilian hath of late dis-tempered them. They fled to the King for Justice, and deliverance from Oppression. Justice he could not deny; Purchase he did not seek. This was good for Maximilian, if he could have seen it in people mutined, to arrest Fury, and prevent Despair. My Lords, it may be this I have said is needless, save that the King our Master is tender in any thing, that may but glance upon the Friendship of England. The amity between the two Kings (no doubt) stands entire and inviolate. And that their Subjects swords have clashed, it is nothing unto the public Peace of the Crowns; it being a thing very usual in Auxiliary Forces of the best and straitest Confederates, to meet and draw blood in the Field. Nay, many times there be Ayds of the same Nation on both sides, and yet it is not (for all that) A Kingdom divided in it self.

It resteth (my Lords) that I impart unto you a matter, that I know your Lordships all will much rejoyce to hear; as that which importeth the Christian Common-weal more, than any Action that hath hapned of long time. The King our Master hath a purpose and determination, to make war upon the Kingdom of Naples; being now in the possession of a Bastardship of Arragon, but appertaining unto his Majesty, by clear and undoubted right; which if he should not by just Arms seek to recover, he could neither acquit his Honour, nor answer it to his People. But his Noble and Christian thoughts rest not here. For his Resolution and Hope is, to make the Re-conquest of Naples, but as a Bridge, to transport his Forces into Grecia; and not to spare Blood or Treasure (if it were to the impawning of his Crown, and dis-peopling of France) till either he hath overthrown the Empire of the Ottomans, or taken it in his way to Paradise. The King knoweth well, that this is a design, that could not arise in the mind of any King, that did not stedfastly look up unto GOD, whose quarrel this is, and from whom cometh both the Will, and the Deed. But yet it is agreeable to the Person that he beareth (though unworthy) of the Thrice-Christian King, and the Eldest Son of the Church. Whereunto he is also invited by the Example (in more ancient time) of King Henry the Fourth of England, (the First Renowned King of the House of Lancaster, Ancestor, though not Progenitor to your King) who had a purpose towards the end of his time (as you know better) to make an Expedition into the Holy Land; and by the Example also (present before his eyes) of that Honourable and Religious war which the King of Spain now maketh, and hath almost brought to perfection, for the Recovery of the Realm of Granada from the Moors. And although this Enterprize may seem vast and unmeasured, for the King

to attempt that by his own Forces, wherein heretofore a Conjunction of most of the Christian Princes hath found work enough; yet his Majesty wisely considereth, that sometimes smaller Forces being united under one Command, are more effectual in Proof (though not so promising in Opinion and Fame) than much greater Forces, variously propounded by Associations and Leagues; which commonly in a short time after their beginnings, turn to Dissociations and Divisions. But (my Lords) that which is as a Voice from Heaven that called the King to this Enterprize, is a Rent at this time in the House of the Ottomans. I do not say, but there hath been Brother against Brother in that House before, but never any that had refuge to the Arms of the Christians, as now hath Gemes, (Brother unto Bajazeth, that reigneth) the far braver man of the two; the other being between a Monk and a Philosopher, and better read in the Alcoran and Averroes, than able to wield the Scepter of so warlike an Empire. This therefore is the King our Master's memorable and heroical Resolution for an Holy War. And because he carrieth in this the person of a Christian Soldier, as well as of a great Temporal Monarch; he beginneth with Humility, and is content for this cause, to beg Peace at the hands of other Christian Kings. There remaineth only rather a Civil Request, than any essential part of our Negotiation, which the King maketh to the King your Sovereign. The King (as the World knoweth) is Lord in chief of the Duchy of Britain. The Marriage of the Heir belongeth to him as Guardian. This is a private Patrimonial Right, and no business of Estate: yet nevertheless (to run a fair course with your King; whom he desires to make another Himself, and to be one and the same thing with him) his Request is, That with the King's Favour and Consent, he may dispose of her Marriage, as he thinketh good, and make void the intruded and pretended Marriage of Maximilian, according to Justice. This (my Lords) is all that I have to say, desiring your pardon for my weakness in the delivery.

Thus did the French Ambassadors with great shew of their King's affection, and many sugred words seek to adulce all matters between the two Kings, having two things for their ends; The one, to keep the King quiet till the Marriage of Britain was past, and this was but a *Summers-fruit*, which they thought was almost ripe, and would be soon gathered. The other was more lasting; and that was to put him into such a temper as he might be no disturbance or impediment to the Voyage for Italy. The Lords of the Council were silent; and said only, That they knew the Ambassadors would look for no answer, till they had reported to the King; and so they rose from Council. The King could not well tell what to think of the Marriage of Britain. He saw plainly the ambition of the French King was to impatronize himself of the Duchy; but he wondred he would bring into his House a litigious Marriage, especially considering who was his Successor. But weighing one thing with another, he gave Britain

tain for lost; but resolved to make his profit of this business of Britain, as a quarrel for War; and that of Naples, as a Wrench and mean for Peace; being well advertised, how strongly the King was bent upon that Action. Having therefore conferred divers times with his Council, and keeping himself somewhat close, he gave a direction to the Chancellor, for a formal Answer to the Ambassadors, and that he did in the presence of his Council. And after calling the Chancellor to him apart, bade him speak in such language, as was fit for a Treaty that was to end in a Breach; and gave him also a special Caveat, that he should not use any words, to discourage the Voyage of Italy. Soon after the Ambassadors were sent for to the Council, and the Lord Chancellor spake to them in this sort:

MY Lords Ambassadors, I shall make answer by the King's Commandment, unto the eloquent Declaration of you my Lord Prior, in a brief and plain manner. The King forgetteth not his former love and acquaintance with the King your Master. But of this there needeth no repetition. For if it be between them as it was, it is well; if there be any alteration, it is not words that will make it up.

For the Business of Britain, the King findeth it a little strange that the French King maketh mention of it, as matter of well-deserving at his hand. For that Deserving was no more, but to make him his Instrument, to surprize one of his best Confederates. And for the Marriage, the King would not meddle in it if your Master would marry by the Book, and not by the Sword.

For that of Flanders, if the Subjects of Burgundy had appealed to your King, as their Chief Lord, at first, by way of Supplication, it might have had a shew of Justice. But it was a new form of Process, for Subjects to imprison their Prince first, and to slay his Officers, and then to be Complainants. The King saith, That sure he is, when the French King, and himself sent to the Subjects of Scotland (that had taken Arms against their King) they both spake in another Stile, and did in Princely manner signifie their detestation of Popular Attentates, upon the Person or Authority of Princes. But my Lords Ambassadors, the King leaveth these two actions thus: That on the one side, he hath not received any manner of satisfaction from you concerning them; and on the other, that he doth not apprehend them so deeply, as in respect of them, to refuse to treat of Peace, if other things may go hand in hand. As for the War of Naples, and the Design against the Turk; the King hath commanded me expressly to say, That he doth wish with all his heart, to his good Brother the French King, that his Fortunes may succeed according to his hopes, and honourable intentions. And whensoever he shall hear, that he is prepared for Grecia, as your Master is pleased now to say, that he beggeth a Peace of the King, so the King will then beg of him a part in that War.

But

But now my Lords Ambassadors, I am to propound unto you somewhat on the King's part. The King your Master hath taught our King what to say and demand. You say (my Lord Prior) that your King is resolved to recover his right to Naples, wrongfully detained from him. And that if he should not thus do, he could not acquit his Honour, nor answer it to his People. Think (my Lords) that the King our Master saith the same thing over again to you touching Normandy, Guien, Anjou, yea and the Kingdom of France it self. I cannot express it better than in your own words: If therefore the French King shall consent, that the King our Master's Title to France (at least Tribute for the same) be handled in the Treaty, the King is content to go on with the rest, otherwise he refuseth to Treat.

THE Ambassadors being somewhat abashed with this demand, answered in some heat; *That they doubted not, but the King their Sovereign's Sword would be able to maintain his Scepter: And they assured themselves, he neither could nor would yield to any diminution of the Crown of France, either in Territory or Regality. But howsoever, they were too great matters for them to speak of, having no Commission. It was replied, that the King looked for no other answer from them, but would forthwith send his own Ambassadors to the French King. There was a question also asked at the table, whether the French King would agree to have the disposing of the Marriage of Britain with an exception and exclusion, that he should not marry her himself? To which the Ambassadors answered; That it was so far out of their King's thoughts, as they had received no Instruction touching the same. Thus were the Ambassadors dismissed, all save the Prior; and were followed immediately by Thomas Earl of Ormond, and Thomas Goldenston Prior of Christ-Church in Canterbury, who were presently sent over into France. In the mean space, Lionel Bishop of Concordia, was sent as Nuntio from Pope Alexander the sixth to both Kings, to move a Peace between them. For Pope Alexander finding himself pent and lockt up, by a League and Association of the principal States of Italy, that he could not make his way for the advancement of his own House, (which he immoderately thirsted after) was desirous to trouble the waters in Italy, that he might fish the better; casting the Net, not out of St. Peter's, but out of Borgia's Bark. And doubting lest the fear from England, might stay the French King's voyage into Italy, dispatched this Bishop to compose all matters between the two Kings, if he could. Who first repaired to the French King, and finding him well inclined (as he conceived) took on his Journey towards England, and found the English Ambassadors at Calice, on their way towards the French King. After some conference with them, he was in honourable manner transported over into England, where he had audience of the King. But notwithstanding he had a good ominous name to have made a Peace, nothing*

nothing followed. For in the mean time, the purpose of the *French* King to marry the *Duchess* could be no longer dissembled. Wherefore the *English* Ambassadors (finding how things went) took their leave, and returned. And the *Prior* also was warned from hence, to depart out of *England*. Who when he turned his back (more like a *Pedant*, than an Ambassador) dispersed a bitter *Libel*, in *Latin* Verse, against the King; unto which the King (though he had nothing of a *Pedant*) yet was content to cause an answer to be made in like Verse; and that as speaking in his own person, but in a stile of scorn and sport. About this time also was born the King's second Son *Henry*, who afterward reigned. And soon after followed the solemnization of the Marriage between *Charles*, and *Ann* *Duchess* of *Britain*, with whom he received the *Duchy* of *Brittain* as her Dowry; the Daughter of *Maximilian* being a little before sent home. Which when it came to the ears of *Maximilian*, (who would never believe it till it was done, being ever the Principal in deceiving himself, though in this the *French* King did very handsomly second it) and tumbling it over and over in his thoughts, that he should at one blow (with such a double scorn) be defeated, both of the Marriage of his Daughter, and his own (upon both which he had fixed high imaginations;) he lost all patience, and casting off the Respects fit to be continued between great Kings, (even when their blood is hottest, and most risen) fell to bitter *Invectives* against the person and actions of the *French* King. And (by how much he was the less able to do, talking so much the more) spake all the Injuries he could devise of *Charles*, saying; That he was the most perfidious man upon the earth, and that he had made a Marriage compounded between an *Adultery* and a *Rape*: which was done (he said) by the just judgment of God; to the end, that (the *Nullity* thereof being so apparent to all the World) the Race of so unworthy a person might not reign in *France*. And forthwith he sent Ambassadors as well to the King of *England* as to the King of *Spain*, to incite them to War, and to treat a *League* offensive against *France*, promising to concur with great Forces of his own. Hereupon the King of *England* (going nevertheless his own way) called a *Parliament*, it being the seventh year of his Reign, and the first day of opening thereof, (sitting under his *Cloth* of *Estate*) spake himself unto his Lords and Commons, in this manner:

MY Lords; and you the Commons; When I purposed to make a War in *Britain* by my Lieutenant, I made declaration thereof to you by my Chancellor. But now that I mean to make a War upon *France* in Person, I will declare it to you my Self. That War, was to defend another man's right, but this is to recover our own; and that ended by Accident, but we hope this shall end in Victory.

The *French* King troubles the *Christian* World. That which he hath,

hath, is not his own, and yet he seeketh more. He hath invested himself of Britain, he maintaineth the Rebels in Flanders, and he threatneth Italy. For Our Selves, he hath proceeded from Dissimulation to Neglect, and from Neglect to Contumely. He hath assailed our Confederates; he denieth our Tribute; in a word, he seeks War. So did not his Father, but sought Peace at our hands; and so perhaps will he, when good Counsel or Time shall make him see as much as his Father did.

Mean-while; let us make his Ambition, our Advantage; and let us not stand upon a few Crowns of Tribute, or Acknowledgement, but (by the favour of Almighty GOD) try Our Right for the Crown of France it self; remembreing that there hath been a French King Prisoner in England, and a King of England Crowned in France. Our Confederates are not diminished. Burgundy is in a mightier Hand than ever, and never more provoked; Britain cannot help us, but it may hurt them. New Acquests are more Burthen, than Strength. The Male-contentes of his own Kingdom have not been Base, Popular, nor Titulary Impostors, but of an higher nature. The King of Spain (doubt ye not) will joyn with us, not knowing where the French King's Ambition will stay. Our Holy Father the Pope, likes no Tramontanes in Italy. But howsoever it be, this matter of Confederates, is rather to be thought on, than reckoned on. For God forbid; but England should be able to get Reason of France, without a Second.

At the Battels of Cressly, Poictiers, Agent-Court, we were of Our selves. France hath much People, and few Soldiers. They have no stable Bands of Foot: some good Horse they have; but those are Forces, which are least fit for a Defensive war, where the Actions are in the Assailant's choice. It was our Discords only, that lost France; and (by the Power of GOD) it is the good Peace which we now enjoy, that will recover it. GOD hath hitherto blessed my Sword. I have in this time that I have Reigned, weeded out my bad Subjects, and tryed my good. My People and I know one another; which breeds Confidence. And if there should be any bad Blood left in the Kingdom, an Honourable Forein War will vent it, or purifie it. In this great Business, let me have your Advice, and Ayd. If any of you were to make his Son Knight, you might have ayd of your Tenants by Law. This concerns the Knighthood and Spurs of the Kingdom, whereof I am Father; and bound not only to seek to maintain it, but to advance it. But for matter of Treasure; let it not be taken from the Poorest sort; but from those, to whom the Benefit of the War may redound. France is no Wilderness: and I, that profess good husbandry, hope to make the war (after the Beginnings) to pay it self. Go together in GOD's Name, and lose no time; for I have called this Parliament wholly for this Cause.

THUS spake the King. But for all this, though he shewed great forwardness for a War, not only to his Parliament and Court, but to his Privy Council likewise, (except the two Bishops, and a few more) yet nevertheless in his secret intentions, he had

no purpose to go through with any War, upon *France*. But the truth was, that he did but traffick with that War, to make his *Return* in money. He knew well, that *France* was now entire, and at unity with it self, and never so mighty many years before. He saw by the tast that he had of his Forces sent into *Britain*, that the *French* knew well enough how to make War with the *English*; by not putting things to the hazard of a *Battel*, but wearing them by long Sieges of *Towns*, and strong fortified Encampings. *James* the Third of *Scotland*, (his true Friend, and *Confederate*) gone; and *James* the Fourth (that had succeeded) wholly at the devotion of *France*, and ill affected towards him. As for the Conjunctions of *Ferdinando* of *Spain*, and *Maximilian*; he could make no foundation upon them: for the one had *Power*, and not *will*; and the other had *will*, and not *Power*. Besides that, *Ferdinando* had but newly taken breath, from the War with the *Moors*; and merchanded at this time with *France*, for the restoring of the Counties of *Russignon* and *Perpignian*, oppignorated to the *French*. Neither was he out of fear of the *Discontents*, and ill blood within the *Realm*; which having used always to repress and appease in person, he was loth they should find him at a distance beyond Sea, and engaged in War. Finding therefore the Inconveniences and Difficulties in the prosecution of a War, he cast with himself how to compass two things: The one, how by the declaration, and inchoation of a War, to make his *Profit*; the other, how to come off from the War, with saving of his *Honour*. For *Profit*, it was to be made two ways; upon his Subjects for the *War*, and upon his Enemies for the *Peace*; like a good *Merchant*, that maketh his gain, both upon the Commodities *Exported*, and *Imported* back again. For the point of *Honour*, wherein he might suffer, for giving over the War; he considered well, that as he could not trust upon the ayds of *Ferdinando* and *Maximilian* for supports of War: so the impuissance of the one, and the double proceeding of the other, lay fair for him for occasions to accept of *Peace*. These things he did wisely fore-see, and did as artificially conduct, whereby all things fell into his lap, as he desired.

For as for the *Parliament*, it presently took fire, being affectionate (of old) to the War of *France*; and desirous afresh to repair the dishonour, they thought the King sustained by the loss of *Britain*. Therefore they advised the King (with great alacrity) to undertake the War of *France*. And although the *Parliament* consisted of the *first* and *second* Nobility, (together with principal Citizens and Townsmen) yet worthily and justly respecting more the People (whose Deputies they were) than their own private Persons, and finding by the Lord *Chancellor's* Speech the King's inclination that way; they consented that *Commissioners* should go forth, for the gathering and levying of a *Benevolence*; from the more able sort. This Tax (called *Benevolence*) was devised by

Edward the Fourth, for which he sustained much Envy. It was abolished by *Richard* the Third, by Act of *Parliament*, to ingratiate himself with the people; and it was now revived by the King, but with consent of *Parliament*, for so it was not in the time of King *Edward* the Fourth. But by this way he raised exceeding great summs. Infomuch as the City of *London* (in those days) contributed nine thousand pounds and better, and that chiefly levied upon the wealthier sort. There is a Tradition of a *Dilemma*, that Bishop *Morton* the Chancellor used, to raise up the *Benevolence* to higher Rates; and some called it his *Fork*, and some his *Crotch*. For he had couched an *Article* in the Instructions to the *Commissioners*, who were to levy the *Benevolence*; *That if they met with any that were sparing, they should tell them, That they must needs have, because they laid up; and if they were spenders, they must needs have, because it was seen in their port, and manner of living.* So neither kind came amiss.

This *Parliament* was meerly a *Parliament* of War; for it was in substance, but a Declaration of War against *France* and *Scotland*, with some Statutes conducing thereunto; As the severe punishing of *Mortpayes*, and keeping back of *Soldiers* Wages in Captains. The like severity for the departure of *Soldiers* without licence; Strengthening of the *Common Law* in favour of *Protections*, for those that were in the King's service; And the setting the gate open and wide, for men to Sell or *Mortgage* their Lands without *Fines* for *Alienation*, to furnish themselves with Money for the War; And lastly, the avoiding of all *Scottish-men* out of *England*. There was also a Statute, for the dispersing of the *Standard* of the *Exchequer*, throughout *England*; thereby to size *Weights* and *Measures*; and two or three more of less importance.

After the *Parliament* was broken up (which lasted not long) the King went on with his Preparations for the War of *France*; yet neglected not in the mean time the affairs of *Maximilian*, for the quieting of *Flanders*, and restoring him to his Authority amongst his Subjects. For at that time, the Lord of *Ravenstein* being not only a Subject rebelled, but a Servant revolted, (and so much the more malicious and violent, by the ayd of *Bruges* and *Ghent*) had taken the Town, and both the Castles of *Sluyce*; as we said before.

And having (by the commodity of the Haven) gotten together certain Ships and Barques, fell to a kind of *Pyratyckal* trade; robbing and spoiling, and taking Prisoners the Ships and Vessels of all Nations, that passed alongst that Coast, towards the Mart of *Antwerp*, or into any part of *Brabant*, *Zealand*, or *Friesland*; being ever will victualled from *Picardy*, besides the commodity of *Victuals* from *Sluyce*, and the Countrey adjacent, and the avails of his own *Prizes*. The *French* assisted him still under-hand; and he likewise (as all men do; that have been of both sides) thought himself not safe, except he depended upon a third Person.

There

There was a small Town some two miles from *Bruges*, towards the Sea, called *Dam*; which was a Fort and Approach to *Bruges*, and had a relation also to *Sluyce*. This Town the King of the *Romans* had attempted often, (not for any worth of the Town in it self, but because it might choak *Bruges*, and cut it off from the Sea) and ever failed. But therewith the Duke of *Saxony* came down into *Flanders*, taking upon him the person of an Umpire, to compose things between *Maximilian* and his Subjects; but being (indeed) fast and assured to *Maximilian*. Upon this Pretext of *Neutrality* and *Treaty*, he repaired to *Bruges*; desiring the States of *Bruges*, to enter peaceably into their Town, with a Retinue of some number of men of Arms, fit for his Estate, being somewhat the more (as he said) the better to guard him in a Countrey, that was up in Arms: and bearing them in hand, that he was to communicate with them of divers matters of great importance, for their good. Which having obtained of them, he sent his Carriages and *Harbingers* before him, to provide his Lodging. So that his *Men of War* entred the City in good Array, but in peaceable manner, and he followed. They that went before, enquired still for Inns and Lodgings, as if they would have rested there all night, and so went on, till they came to the Gate, that leadeth directly towards *Dam*; and they of *Bruges* only gazed upon them, and gave them passage. The *Captains* and inhabitants of *Dam* also suspected no harm, from any that passed through *Bruges*; and discovering Forces a-far-off, supposed they had been some *Succours*, that were come from their Friends, knowing some Dangers towards them. And so perceiving nothing but well, till it was too late, suffered them to enter their Town. By which kind of *Sleight*, rather than *Stratagem*, the Town of *Dam* was taken, and the Town of *Bruges* shrewdly blockt up, whereby they took great discouragement.

The Duke of *Saxony* having won the Town of *Dam*, sent immediately to the King, to let him know that it was *Sluyce* chiefly, and the Lord *Ravenstein*, that kept the Rebellion of *Flanders* in life, And that if it pleased the King to besiege it by Sea, he also would besiege it by Land, and so cut out the *Core* of those Wars.

The King willing to uphold the Authority of *Maximilian*, (the better to hold *France* in awe) and being likewise sued unto by his *Merchants*, for that the Seas were much infested by the Barques of the Lord *Ravenstein*; sent straightways Sir *Edward Poynings*, a valiant man, and of good service, with twelve Ships, well furnished with Soldiers and Artillery, to clear the Seas, and to besiege *Sluyce* on that part. The *Englishmen* did not only coop up the Lord *Ravenstein*, that he stirred not, and likewise hold in strait Siege the Maritim part of the Town; but also assailed one of the Castles, and renewed the assault so for twenty days space (issuing still out of their Ships at the Ebb) as they made great

slaughter of them of the Castle ; who continually fought with them to repulse them, though of the *English* part also were slain a Brother of the Earl of *Oxford's*, and some fifty more.

But the Siege still continuing more and more strait, and both the Castles (which were the principal strength of the Town) being distressed, the one by the Duke of *Saxony*, and the other by the *English*; and a Bridge of boats, which the Lord *Ravenstein* had made between both Castles, whereby Succours and Relief might pass from the one to the other, being on a night set on fire by the *English*, he despairing to hold the Town, yielded (at the last) the Castle to the *English*, and the Town to the Duke of *Saxony*, by composition. Which done, the Duke of *Saxony* and Sir *Edward Poynings* treated with them of *Bruges*, to submit themselves to *Maximilian* their Lord; which after some time they did, paying (in some good part) the Charge of the War, whereby the *Almains* and forein Succours were dismissed. The example of *Bruges*, other of the Revolted Towns followed, so that *Maximilian* grew to be out of danger, but (as his manner was to handle matters) never out of necessity. And Sir *Edward Poynings* (after he had continued at *sluyce* some good while, till all things were settled) returned unto the King, being then before *Bulloign*.

Somewhat about this time came Letters from *Ferdinando*, and *Isabella*, King and Queen of *Spain*; signifying the final Conquest of *Granada* from the *Moors*; which action in it self so worthy, King *Ferdinando*, (whose manner was never to lose any virtue for the shewing) had expressed and displayed in his Letters at large, with all the particularities, and Religious *Puncto's* and *Ceremonies*, that were observed in the reception of that *City* and *Kingdom*: Shewing amongst other things, That the King would not by any means in person enter the *City*, until he had first aloof seen the *Cross* set up upon the greater *Tower* of *Granada*, whereby it became *Christian* ground: That likewise before he would enter, he did *Homage* to God above, pronouncing by an *Herald* from the height of that *Tower*, that he did acknowledge to have recovered that *Kingdom*, by the help of God Almighty and the glorious *Virgin*, and the virtuous *Apostle St. James*, and the holy Father *Innocent* the Eighth, together with the ayds and services of his *Prelates*, *Nobles* and *Commons*: That yet he stirred not from his *Camp*, till he had seen a little Army of *Martyrs*, to the number of seven hundred and more *Christians* (that had lived in bonds and servitude, as *Slaves* to the *Moors*) pass before his Eyes, singing a *Psalm* for their redemption, and that he had given *Tribute* unto God by alms, and relief, extended to them all, for his admission into the *City*. These things were in the Letters, with many more *Ceremonies* of a kind of *Holy Ostentation*.

The King ever willing to put himself into the consort or Choir of all *Religious* actions, and naturally affecting much the King of *Spain*,
(as

(as far as one King can affect another) partly for his virtues, and partly for a counterpoise to *France*; upon the receipt of these Letters, sent all his *Nobles* and *Prelates*, that were about the *Court*, together with the *Mayor* and *Aldermen* of *London*, in great solemnity to the Church of *St. Pauls*; there to hear a *Déclaration* from the *Lord Chancellor*, now *Cardinal*. When they were assembled, the *Cardinal* (standing upon the uppermost step, or half-pace before the *Choir*; and all the *Nobles*, *Prelates*, and *Governours* of the *City* at the foot of the stairs) made a Speech to them; letting them know, that they were assembled in that Consecrate place, to sing unto God a *New-song*; For that (said he) these many years the *Christians* have not gained new ground or Territory upon the *Infidels*, nor enlarged and set further the Bounds of the *Christian-world*: But this is now done, by the prowess and devotion of *Ferdinando* and *Isabella*, Kings of *Spain*; who have (to their immortal Honour) recovered the great and rich Kingdom of *Granada*, and the populous and mighty City of the same name, from the *Moors*, having been in possession thereof by the space of seven hundred years and more. For which, this Assembly and all *Christians* are to render laud and thanks unto God, and to celebrate this noble Act of the King of *Spain*; who in this is not only *Victorious*, but *Apostolical*, in the gaining of new Provinces to the *Christian Faith*. And the rather, for that this victory and Conquest is obtained, without much effusion of blood. Whereby it is to be hoped, that there shall be gained, not only new Territory, but infinite Souls, to the Church of *Christ*; whom the *Almighty* (as it seems) would have live to be converted. Herewithal he did relate some of the most memorable particulars of the War and Victory. And after his Speech ended, the whole assembly went solemnly in *Procession*, and *Te Deum* was sung.

Immediately after the Solemnity, the King kept his *May-day* at his Palace of *Shein*, now *Richmond*. Where to warm the blood of his *Nobility*, and *Gallants*, against the War, he kept great Triumphs of *Jousting* and *Tourney*, during all that Month. In which space it so fell out, that Sir *James Parker*, and *Hugh Vaughan*, (one of the King's Gentlemen-Ushers) having had a controversie touching certain Arms, that the *King at Arms* had given *Vaughan*, were appointed to run some Courses one against another. And by accident of a faulty Helmet, that *Parker* had on, he was stricken into the mouth at the first Course, so that his tongue was born unto the hinder part of his head, in such sort that he died presently upon the place. Which because of the Controversie precedent, and the Death that followed, was accounted among the *Vulgar*, as a *Combat* or *Tryal* of Right. The King, towards the end of this Summer, having put his Forces, wherewith he meant to invade *France*, in readines, (but so as they were not yet met or mustered together) sent *Urswick* (now made his *Almoner*) and Sir
John

John Risley, to *Maximilian*; to let him know, that he was in Arms, ready to pass the Seas into *France*, and did but expect to hear from him, when and where he did appoint to joyn with him, according to his promise made unto him by *Countebal*, his Ambassador.

The *English* Ambassadors, having repaired to *Maximilian*, did find his power and promise at a very great distance; he being utterly unprovided of *Men, Money, and Arms*, for any such enterprize. For *Maximilian*, having neither Wing to flie on (for that his Patrimony of *Austria* was not in his hands, his Father being then living: And on the other side, his *Matrimonial* Territories of *Flanders* being partly in Dowre to his *Mother-in-law*, and partly not serviceable, in respect of the late *Rebellions*) was thereby destitute of means to enter into War. The Ambassadors saw this well, but wisely thought fit to advertise the King thereof, rather than to return themselves, till the King's further pleasure were known: The rather, for that *Maximilian* himself spake as great, as ever he did before, and entertained them with dilatory Answers; so as the formal part of their Ambassage might well warrant and require their further stay. The King hereupon (who doubted as much before, and saw through his business from the beginning) wrote back to the Ambassadors, commending their discretion in not returning, and willing them to keep the state wherein they found *Maximilian*, as a Secret, till they heard further from him; And mean while went on with his Voyage Royal for *France*, suppressing for a time this Advertisement touching *Maximilian's* poverty and disability.

By this time, was drawn together a great and puissant Army into the City of *London*; in which were *Thomas* Marquess *Dorset*, *Thomas* Earl of *Arundel*, *Thomas* Earl of *Derby*, *George* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, *Edmond* Earl of *Suffolk*, *Edward* Earl of *Devonshire*, *George* Earl of *Kent*, the Earl of *Essex*, *Thomas* Earl of *Ormond*, with a great number of Barons, Knights, and principal Gentlemen; and amongst them, *Richard Thomas*, much noted for the brave Troops that he brought out of *Wales*; the Army rising in the whole to the number of five and twenty thousand *Foot*, and sixteen hundred *Horse*. Over which, the King (constant in his accustomed trust and employment) made *Jasper* Duke of *Bedford*, and *John* Earl of *Oxford* Generals under his own person. The ninth of *September*, in the eighth year of his Reign, he departed from *Greenwich*, towards the Sea, all men wondering, that he took that season (being so near Winter) to begin the War; and some thereupon gathering it was a sign that the War would not be long. Nevertheless, the King gave out the contrary, thus: *That he intending not to make a Summer-business of it, but a resolute War (without term prefixed) until he recovered France; it skilled not much when he began it: especially having Calice at his back; where he might winter, if the reason*

of

of the War so required. The sixth of October, he embarked at Sandwich; and the same day took land at Calice: which was the Rendezvous, where all his Forces were assigned to meet. But in this his Journey towards the Sea-side (wherein, for the cause that we shall now speak of, he hovered so much the longer) he had received Letters from the Lord Cordes: who the hotter he was against the *English* in time of War, had the more credit in a Negotiation of Peace; and besides was held a man open, and of good faith. In which Letters there was made an overture of Peace from the *French King*, with such Conditions, as were somewhat to the King's taste: but this was carried at the first with wonderful secrecy. The King was no sooner come to Calice, but the calm winds of Peace began to blow. For first, the *English* Ambassadors returned out of *Flanders* from *Maximilian*; and certified the King, that he was not to hope for any ayd from *Maximilian*, for that he was altogether improvident. His will was good; but he lacked money. And this was made known, and spread through the Army. And although the *English* were therewithal nothing dismayed; and that it be the manner of Soldiers, upon bad news to speak the more bravely: yet nevertheless it was a kind of preparative to a Peace. Instantly in the neck of this (as the King had laid it) came news that *Ferdinando* and *Isabella*, Kings of *Spain*, had concluded a peace with King *Charles*; and that *Charles* had restored unto them the Counties of *Russignon* and *Perpignian*, which formerly were Mortgaged by *John King of Arragon* (*Ferdinando's* Father) unto *France*, for three hundred thousand Crowns; which debt was also, upon this Peace, by *Charles* clearly released. This came also handsomly to put on the Peace: both because so potent a Confederate was slain off; and because it was a fair example of a Peace bought; so as the King should not be the sole Merchant in this Peace. Upon these *Airs of Peace*, the King was content, that the Bishop of *Exceter*, and the Lord *Daubigny* (Governour of *Calice*.) should give a meeting unto the Lord *Cordes*, for the Treaty of a Peace. But himself nevertheless, and his Army, the fifteenth of October, removed from *Calice*, and in four days march sat him down before *Bulloign*.

During this Siege of *Bulloign* (which continued near a Month) there passed no memorable Action, nor Accident of War: only Sir *John Savage*, a valiant Captain, was slain, riding about the Walls of the Town, to take a View. The Town was both well fortified, and well manned; yet it was distressed, and ready for an Assault: which if it had been given (as was thought) would have cost much blood; but yet the Town would have been carried in the end. Mean while, a Peace was concluded by the Commissioners, to continue for both the Kings Lives. Where there was no Article of importance; being in effect, rather a Bargain, than a Treaty. For, all things remained as they were: save that there

there should be paid to the King seven hundred forty five thousand Ducats in present, for his Charges in that Journey; and five and twenty thousand Crowns yearly, for his Charges sustained in the Ayds of the *Britons*. For which *Annual*, though he had *Maximilian* bound before for those Charges, yet he counted the alteration of the Hand, as much as the principal Debt. And besides, it was left somewhat indefinitely, when it should determine or expire: which made the *English* esteem it as a *Tribute*, carried under fair Terms. And the truth is, it was paid both to the King, and to his Son King *Henry* the Eighth, longer than it could continue upon any computation of Charges. There were also assigned by the *French* King, unto all the King's principal *Counsellors*, great Pensions, besides rich Gifts for the present. Which whether the King did permit, to save his own Purse from Rewards, or to communicate the Envy of a Business, that was displeasing to his People, was diversly interpreted; for certainly, the King had no great fancy to own this Peace. And therefore, a little before it was concluded, he had under-hand procured some of his best *Captains*, and *Men of War*, to advise him to a Peace under their hands, in an earnest manner, in the nature of a *Supplication*. But, the truth is, this Peace was welcom to both Kings. To *Charles*, for that it assured unto him the possession of *Britain*, and freed the enterprise of *Naples*. To *Henry*, for that it filled his Coffers, and that he foresaw at that time a storm of inward troubles coming upon him; which presently after brake forth. But it gave no less discontent to the *Nobility*, and principal persons of the *Army*; who had many of them sold or engaged their Estates, upon the hopes of the War. They stuck not to say, *That the King cared not to plume his Nobility and People, to feather himself.* And some made themselves merry with that the King had said in Parliament: *That after the war was once begun, he doubted not but to make it pay it self;* saying he had kept promise.

Having risen from *Bulloign*, he went to *Calice*, where he stayed sometime. From whence also he wrote Letters, (which was a Courtesie that he sometimes used) to the *Mayor of London*, and *Aldermen* his Brethren; half bragging, what great summs he had obtained for the Peace; knowing well, that full *Coffers* of the King, is ever good news to *London*. And better news it would have been, if their *Benevolence* had been but a *Loan*. And upon the seventeenth of *December* following, he returned to *Westminster*, where he kept his *Christmas*.

Soon after the King's return, he sent the Order of the *Garter*, to *Alphonso* Duke of *Calabria*, eldest Son to *Ferdinando* King of *Naples*; an honour sought by that *Prince*, to hold him up in the eyes of the *Italians*: who, expecting the Arms of *Charles*, made great account of the Amity of *England*, for a Bridle to *France*. It was received by *Alphonso*, with all Ceremony and Pomp that could be

be deviled, as things use to be carried that are intended for Opinion. It was sent by *Urswick*: upon whom the King bestowed this Ambassage, to help him, after many dry Employments.

AT this time the King began again to be haunted with *Spirits*, by the *Magick* and curious Arts of the Lady *Margaret*: who raised up the Ghost of *Richard Duke of York*, second Son to King *Edward the Fourth*, to walk and vex the King. This was a finer *Counterfeit Stone*, than *Lambert Simnel*, better done, and worn upon greater hands; being graced after, with the wearing of a King of *France*, and a King of *Scotland*, not of a *Duchess of Burgundy* only. And for *Simnel*, there was not much in him, more than that he was a handsome Boy, and did not shame his Robes. But this Youth (of whom we are now to speak) was such a *Mercurial*, as the like hath seldom been known, and could make his own Part, if at any time he chanced to be out. Wherefore, this being one of the strangest Examples of a *Personation*, that ever was in *Elder* or *Latter* times; it deserveth to be discovered, and related at the full: Although the King's manner of shewing things, by Pieces and by *Dark Lights*, hath so muffled it, that it hath left it almost as a *Mystery* to this day.

The Lady *Margaret* (whom the King's Friends called *Juno*, because she was to him as *Juno* was to *Aeneas*, stirring both Heaven and Hell, to do him mischief) for a foundation of her particular Practices against him, did continually, by all means possible, nourish, maintain, and divulge the flying Opinion, That *Richard Duke of York* (second Son to *Edward the Fourth*) was not murdered in the *Tower*, (as was given out) but saved alive; For that those, who were employed in that barbarous Fact, having destroyed the elder Brother, were stricken with remorse and compassion towards the younger, and set him privily at liberty, to seek his Fortune. This Lure she cast abroad, thinking that this Fame and Belief (together with the fresh Example of *Lambert Simnel*) would draw at one time, or other, some *Birds* to strike upon it. She used likewise a further diligence, not committing all to *Chance*. For, she had some secret *Espials* (like to the *Turks Commissioners* for Children of *Tribute*) to look abroad for handsome and graceful Youths to make *Plantagenets*, and *Dukes of York*. At the last she did light on one, in whom all things met, as one would wish to serve her turn, for a *Counterfeit* of *Richard Duke of York*.

This was *Perkin Warbeck*, whose Adventures we shall now describe. For, first, the years agreed well. Secondly, he was a Youth of fine favour and shape. But more than that, he had such a crafty and bewitching fashion, both to move *Pity*, and to induce *Belief*, as was like a kind of *Fascination*, and *Incantment* to those that saw him, or heard him. Thirdly, he had been from his Childhood such a *Wanderer*, or (as the King called him) such a *Land-loper*,

as it was extreme hard to hunt out his *Nest* and *Parents*. Neither again could any man, by company or conversing with him, be able to say or detect well what he was; he did so flit from place to place. Lastly, there was a *Circumstance* (which is mentioned by one that wrote in the same time) that is very likely to have made somewhat to the matter; which is, That King *Edward* the Fourth was his God-father. Which, as it is somewhat suspicious, for a wanton *Prince* to become Gossip in so mean a House; and might make a man think, that he might indeed have in him some bate Blood of the House of *York*: so at the least (though that were not) it might give the occasion to the Boy, in being called King *Edward's* God-son, or perhaps in sport, King *Edward's* Son, to entertain such Thoughts into his Head. For, Tutor he had none, (for ought that appears) as *Lambert Simnel* had, until he came unto the Lady *Margaret*, who instructed him.

Thus therefore it came to pass: There was a Towns-man of *Tourney*, that had born Office in that Town, whose name was *John Osbeck*, a Convert-Jew; married to *Catherine de Faro*; whose business drew him, to live for a time with his Wife at *London*, in King *Edward* the Fourth's days. During which time he had a Son by her: and being known in Court, the King either out of a religious Nobleness, because he was a *Convert*, or upon some private acquaintance, did him the Honor, as to be God-father to his Child, and named him *Peter*. But, afterwards, proving a dainty and effeminate Youth, he was commonly called by the diminutive of his name; *Peterkin*, or *Perkin*. For, as for the name of *Warbeck*, it was given him when they did but guess at it, before examinations had been taken. But yet he had been so much talked on by that name, as it stuck by him after his true name of *Osbeck* was known. While he was a young Child his Parents returned with him to *Tourney*. Then was he placed in a house of a kinsman of his, called *John Stenbeck*, at *Antwerp*: and so roved up and down between *Antwerp* and *Tourney*, and other Towns of *Flanders*, for a good time; living much in *English* Company, and having the *English* Tongue perfect. In which time, being grown a comely Youth, he was brought by some of the *Espials* of the Lady *Margaret* unto her Presence. Who viewing him well, and seeing that he had a Face and Personage that would bear a Noble fortune, and finding him otherwise of a fine Spirit, and winning Behaviour; thought she had now found a curious *Piece of Marble*, to carve out an *Image* of a Duke of *York*. She kept him by her a great while, but with extreme secrecy. The while, she instructed him, by many *Cabinet-Conferences*. First, in *Princely* behaviour and gesture; teaching him how he should keep *State*, and yet with a modest sense of his misfortunes. Then she informed him of all the circumstances and particulars, that concerned the Person of *Richard Duke of York*, which he was to act:

Describing

Describing unto him the *Personages, Lineaments, and Features* of the King and Queen, his pretended Parents; and of his Brother and Sisters, and divers others, that were nearest him in his Childhood; together with all passages, some secret, some common, that were fit for a Child's memory, until the death of King Edward. Then she added the particulars of the time, from the King's death, until he and his Brother were committed to the *Tower*, as well during the time he was abroad, as while he was in *Sanctuary*. As for the times while he was in the *Tower*, and the manner of his Brother's death, and his own escape; she knew they were things that a very few could controule. And therefore she taught him, only to tell a smooth and likely *Tale* of those matters; warning him not to vary from it. It was agreed likewise between them, what account he should give of his *Peregrination* abroad; intermixing many things which were true, and such as they knew others could testifie, for the credit of the rest: but, still making them to hang together, with the *Part* he was to play. She taught him likewise how to avoid sundry captious and tempting questions which were like to be asked of him. But, in this she found him of himself so nimble and shifting, as she trusted much to his own wit and readines, and therefore laboured the less in it. Lastly, she raised his thoughts with some present rewards, and further promises; setting before him chiefly the glory and fortune of a *Crown*, if things went well; and a sure refuge to her *Court*, if the worst should fall. After such time as she thought he was perfect in his *Lesson*; she began to cast with her self from what coast this *Blazing-Star* should first appear, and at what time it must be upon the *Horizon* of *Ireland*; for there had the like *Meteor* strong influence before: the time of the *Apparition* to be, when the King should be engaged into a War with *France*. But well she knew, that whatsoever should come from her, would be held suspected. And therefore, if he should go out of *Flanders* immediately into *Ireland*, she might be thought to have some hand in it. And besides, the time was not yet ripe; for that the two Kings were then upon terms of *Peace*. Therefore she wheel'd about; and to put all suspicion a-far-off, and loth to keep him any longer by her, (for that she knew *Secrets* are not long-lived) she sent him unknown into *Portugal*; with the Lady *Brampton*; an *English* Lady, that embarked for *Portugal* at that time; with some *Privado* of her own; to have an eye upon him: and there he was to remain and to expect her further directions. In the mean time, she omitted not to prepare things for his better welcome, and accepting, not only in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, but in the Court of *France*. He continued in *Portugal* about a year; and, by that time, the King of *England* called his *Parliament* (as hath been said) and declared open War against *France*. Now did the Sign reign, and the Constellation was come, under which *Perkin* should appear.

And therefore he was straight sent unto by the Duchess, to go for *Ireland*, according to the first designment. In *Ireland* he did arrive at the Town of *Cork*. When he was thither come, his own *Tale* was, (when he made his *Confession* afterwards) That the *Irish-men*, finding him in some good clothes, came flocking about him, and bare him down, that he was the Duke of *Clarence*, that had been there before; and after, that he was *Richard* the Third's base Son; and lastly, that he was *Richard* Duke of *York*, second Son to *Edward* the Fourth: But that he (for his part) renounced all these things, and offered to swear upon the Holy *Evangelists*, that he was no such man; till, at last, they forced it upon him, and bad him fear nothing, and so forth. But the truth is, that immediately upon his coming into *Ireland*, he took upon him the said *Person* of the Duke of *York*, and drew unto him *Complices*, and *Partakers*, by all the means he could devise: Insomuch, as he wrote his Letters unto the Earl of *Denismond* and *Kildare*, to come in to his *Ayd*, and be of his *Party*: the *Originals* of which Letters are yet extant.

Somewhat before this time, the Duchess had also gained unto her a near Servant of King *Henry's* own, one *Stephen Frion*, his *Secretary* for the *French* Tongue; an active man, but turbulent, and discontented. This *Frion* had fled over to *Charles* the *French* King, and put himself into his service, at such time as he began to be in open enmity with the King. Now King *Charles*, when he understood of the *Person* and Attempts of *Perkin* (ready of himself to embrace all advantages against the King of *England*; instigated by *Frion*, and formerly prepared by the Lady *Margaret*,) forthwith dispatched one *Lucas*, and this *Frion*, in the nature of of Ambassadors to *Perkin*, to advertise him of the King's good inclination to him, and that he was resolved to ayd him, to recover his right against King *Henry*, an Usurper of *England*, and an Enemy of *France*; and wished him, to come over unto him at *Paris*. *Perkin* thought himself in heaven now, that he was invited by so great a King, in so honourable a manner; And imparting unto his Friends in *Ireland* for their encouragement, how Fortune called him, and what great hopes he had, sailed presently into *France*. When he was come to the Court of *France*, the King received him with great honour; saluted, and stiled him by the name of the Duke of *York*; lodged him, and accommodated him in great State: And the better to give him the representation and the countenance of a *Prince*, assigned him a *Guard* for his *Person*, whereof the Lord *Congreshall* was Captain. The *Courtiers* likewise (though it be ill mocking with the *French*) applied themselves to their King's bent, seeing there was reason of *State* for it. At the same time there repaired unto *Perkin* divers *Englisb-men* of Quality; Sir *George Nevile*, Sir *John Taylor*, and about one hundred more: and amongst the rest, this *Stephen Frion*, of whom we spake; who

who followed his fortune both then and for a long time after, and was indeed his principal *Counsellor* and *Instrument* in all his Proceedings. But all this, on the *French King's* part, was but a Trick, the better to bow King *Henry* to Peace. And therefore upon the first Grain of *Incense*, that was sacrificed upon the *Altar of Peace*, at *Bulloign*, *Perkin* was smoaked away. Yet would not the *French King* deliver him up to King *Henry* (as he was laboured to do) for his Honors sake, but warned him away, and dismissed him. And *Perkin* on his part, was as ready to be gone, doubting he might be caught up under-hand. He therefore took his way into *Flanders*, unto the *Duchess of Burgundy*; pretending, that having been variously tossed by *Fortune*, he directed his course thither, as to a safe *Harbour*: No ways taking knowledge, that he had ever been there before, but as if that had been his first address. The *Duchess*, on the other part, made it as new and strange to see him: pretending (at the first) that she was taught and made wise by the example of *Lambert Simnel*, how she did admit of any *Counterfeit stuff*; though even in that (she said) she was not fully satisfied. She pretended at the first (and that was ever in the presence of others) to pose him and sift him, thereby to try whether he were indeed the very *Duke of York*, or no. But; seeming to receive full satisfaction by his answers, she then feined her self to be transported with a kind of astonishment, mixt of *Joy* and *Wonder*, at his miraculous deliverance; receiving him, as he were risen from death to life; and inferring, that God, who had in such wonderful manner preserved him from Death, did likewise reserve him for some great and prosperous *Fortune*. As for his dismissal out of *France*, they interpreted it not, as if he were detected or neglected for a *Counterfeit Deceiver*; but contrariwise, that it did shew manifestly unto the World, that he was some *Great matter*; for that it was his abandoning, that (in effect) made the *Peace*: being no more but the sacrificing of a poor distressed *Prince* unto the utility and Ambition of two Mighty *Monarchs*. Neither was *Perkin* for his part wanting to himself, either in gracious and Princely behaviour, or in ready and apposite answers, or in contenting and caressing those that did apply themselves unto him, or in pretty scorn and disdain to those that seemed to doubt of him; but in all things did notably acquit himself: Inasmuch as it was generally believed (as well amongst great Persons, as amongst the *Vulgar*) that he was indeed *Duke Richard*. Nay, himself, with long and continual counterfeiting, and with oft telling a *Lye*, was turned by habit almost into the thing he seemed to be; and from a *Liar*, to a *Believer*. The *Duchess* therefore (as in a case out of doubt) did him all Princely honour, calling him always by the name of her *Nephew*, and giving him the *Delicate Title* of the *White-Rose of England*; and appointed him a *Guard* of thirty persons, *Halberdiers*, clad in a party-coloured *Livery* of

of *Murrey* and *Blew*, to attend his Person. Her *Court* likewise, and generally the *Dutch* and Strangers in their usage towards him, expressed no less respect.

The News hereof came blazing and thundering over into *England*, that the Duke of *York* was sure alive. As for the name of *Perkin Warbeck*, it was not at that time come to light, but all the news ran upon the Duke of *York*; that he had been entertained in *Ireland*, bought and sold in *France*, and was now plainly avowed, and in great honour in *Flanders*. These Fames took hold of divers; in some upon discontent, in some upon ambition, in some upon levity and desire of change, and in some few upon conscience and belief, but in most upon simplicity; and in divers out of dependance upon some of the better sort, who did in secret favour and nourish these bruits. And it was not long, ere these rumors of Novelty, had begotten others of Scandal and Murmur against the King, and his government; taxing him for a great Taxer of his People, and discountenancer of his Nobility. The loss of *Britain*, and the Peace with *France* were not forgotten. But chiefly they fell upon the wrong that he did his Queen, in that he did not reign in her Right. Wherefore they said, that God had now brought to light a *Masculine-Branch* of the House of *York*, that would not be at his Courtesie, howsoever he did depress his poor Lady. And yet (as it fareth in things which are currant with the Multitude, and which they affect) these Fames grew so general, as the Authors were lost in the generality of Speakers. They being like running Weeds, that have no certain root; or like Footings up and down, impossible to be traced. But after a while, these ill Humors drew to an head; and settled secretly in some eminent Persons; which were Sir *William Stanley* Lord Chamberlain of the King's Household; the Lord *Fitzwater*, Sir *Simon Mountfort*, Sir *Thomas Thwaites*. These entred into a secret Conspiracy to favour Duke *Richard's* Title. Nevertheless none engaged their fortunes in this business openly, but two; Sir *Robert Clifford*, and Master *William Barley*, who sailed over into *Flanders*, sent indeed from the Party of the Conspirators here, to understand the truth of those things that passed there; and not without some help of monies from hence; Provisionally to be delivered, if they found and were satisfied, that there was truth in these pretences. The person of Sir *Robert Clifford* (being a Gentleman of Fame and Family) was extremely welcome to the Lady *Margaret*. Who after she had conference with him, brought him to the sight of *Perkin*, with whom he had often speech and discourse. So that in the end won either by the Duchesse, to affect, or by *Perkin* to believe, he wrote back into *England*, that he knew the Person of *Richard* Duke of *York*, as well as he knew his own; and that this Young-man was undoubtedly he. By this means all things grew prepared to Revolt and Sedition here, and the Conspiracy came to have a Correspondence between *Flanders* and *England*.

The

The King on his part was not asleep; but to Arm or levy *Forces* yet, he thought would but shew fear, and do this *Idol* too much worship. Nevertheless the *Ports* he did shut up, or at least kept a *watch* on them, that none should pass to or fro that was suspected. But for the rest, he chose to work by *Counter-mine*. His purposes were two; the one, to lay open the Abuse: the other, to break the knot of the *Conspirators*. To detect the *Abuse*, there were but two ways; the first, to make it manifest to the world, that the Duke of *York* was indeed murdered: the other, to prove; that were he dead or alive, yet *Perkin* was a Counterfeit. For the first, thus it stood. There were but four persons that could speak upon knowledge, to the murder of the Duke of *York*; Sir *James Tirrel*, (the employed-man from King *Richard*) *John Dighton*, and *Miles Forrest*, his Servants, (the two Butchers or Tormentors) and the *Priest* of the *Tower*, that buried them. Of which four, *Miles Forrest*, and the *Priest* were dead, and there remained alive only Sir *James Tirrel*, and *John Dighton*. These two the King caused to be committed to the *Tower*, and examined touching the manner of the Death of the two Innocent *Princes*. They agreed both in a Tale, (as the King gave out) to this effect: That King *Richard* having directed his Warrant for the putting of them to death, to *Brackenbury* the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, was by him refused. Whereupon the King directed his Warrant to Sir *James Tirrel*, to receive the Keys of the *Tower* from the Lieutenant (for the space of a night) for the King's special service. That Sir *James Tirrel* accordingly repaired to the *Tower* by night, attended by his two Servants afore-named, whom he had chosen for that purpose. That himself stood at the stair-foot, and sent these two *Villains* to execute the murder. That they smothered them in their bed; and that done, called up their Master to see their naked dead bodies, which they had laid forth. That they were buried under the *Stairs*, and some stones cast upon them. That when the report was made to King *Richard*, that his will was done, he gave Sir *James Tirrel* great thanks, but took exception to the place of their burial, being too base for them that were King's children. Where upon another night by the King's Warrant renewed, their bodies were removed by the *Priest* of the *Tower*, and buried by him in some place, which (by means of the *Priest's* death soon after) could not be known. Thus much was then delivered abroad, to be the effect of those *Examinations*. But the King nevertheless made no use of them in any of his *Declarations*; whereby (as it seems) those *Examinations* left the business somewhat perplexed. And as for Sir *James Tirrel*; he was soon after beheaded in the *Tower-yard*, for other matters of *Treason*. But *John Dighton* (who it seemeth spake best for the King) was forthwith set at liberty, and was the principal means of divulging this Tradition. Therefore this kind of proof being left so naked, the King used the more diligence in the latter, for the tracing

tracing of *Perkin*. To this purpose, he sent abroad into several parts, and especially into *Flanders*, divers secret and nimble Scouts and Spies; some feigning themselves to flie over unto *Perkin*, and to adhere unto him; and some under other pretences, to learn, search, and discover all the circumstances and particulars of *Perkin's* Parents, Birth, Person, Travels up and down; and in brief, to have a *Journal* (as it were) of his life and doings. He furnished these his employed-men liberally with Money, to draw on and reward intelligences: giving them also in charge, to advertise continually what they found, and nevertheless still to go on. And ever as one Advertisement and Discovery called up another, he employed other new Men, where the Business did require it: Others he employed in a more special nature and trust, to be his Pioners in the main Counter-mine. These were directed to insinuate themselves into the familiarity and confidence of the principal persons of the *Party* in *Flanders*, and so to learn what *Associates* they had, and *Correspondents*, either here in *England*, or abroad; and how far every one engaged, and what new ones they meant afterwards to try, or board. And as this for the *Persons*; so for the *Actions* themselves, to discover to the Bottom (as they could) the utmost of *Perkin's* and the *Conspirators* their Intentions, Hopes, and Practices. These latter *Best-be-trust-Spies* had some of them further instructions, to practise and draw off the best Friends and Servants of *Perkin*, by making remonstrance to them, how weakly his Enterprize and Hopes were built, and with how prudent and potent a King they had to deal; and to reconcile them to the King, with promise of *Pardon*, and good Conditions of *Reward*. And (above the rest) to assail, sap, and work into the constancy of Sir *Robert Clifford*; and to win him, (if they could) being the man that knew most of their secrets, and who being won away, would most appall and discourage the rest, and in a manner break the Knot.

There is a strange *Tradition*; That the King being lost in a *Wood* of Suspitions, and not knowing whom to trust, had both intelligence with the *Confessors* and *Chaplains* of divers great men, and for the better *Credit* of his *Espials* abroad with the contrary side, did use to have them cursed at *St. Pauls* (by Name) amongst the *Bead-Roll* of the King's Enemies, according to the Custom of those Times. These *Espials* plyed their Charge so roundly; as the King had an *Anatomy* of *Perkin* alive; and was likewise well informed of the particular correspondent *Conspirators* in *England*, and and many other Mysteries were revealed; and Sir *Robert Clifford* in especial won to be assured to the King, and industrious and officious for his service. The King therefore (receiving a rich *Return* of his diligence, and great satisfaction touching a number of Particulars) first divulged and spread abroad the *Imposture* and juggling of *Perkin's* Person and Travels, with the Circumstances thereof,

thereof, throughout the *Realm*. Not by *Proclamation* (because things were yet in Examination, and so might receive the more or the less) but by *Court-fables*, which commonly print better than printed *Proclamations*. Then thought he it also time to send an Ambassage unto Archduke *Philip*, into *Flanders*, for the abandoning and dismissing of *Perkin*. Herein he employed Sir *Edward Poynings*, and Sir *William Warham*, Doctor of the Canon Law. The Archduke was then young, and governed by his Council: before whom the Embassadors had audience, and Doctor *Warham* spake in this manner:

MY Lords, the King our Master is very sorry, that England and your Countrey here of *Flanders* having been counted as Man and wife for so long time, now this Countrey of all others should be the Stage, where a base Counterfeit should play the part of a King of England; not only to his Graces disquiet and dishonour, but to the scorn and reproach of all Sovereign Princes. To counterfeit the dead Image of a King in his Coyn, is an high Offence by all Laws: But to counterfeit the living Image of a King in his Person, exceedeth all Falsifications, except it should be that of a Mahomet, or an Antichrist, that counterfeit Divine Honour. The King hath too great an Opinion of this sage Council, to think that any of you is taught with this Fable, (though way may be given by you to the passion of some) the thing in it self is so improbable. To set Testimonies aside of the Death of Duke Richard, which the King hath upon Record, plain and infallible (because they may be thought to be in the King's own power) let the thing testifie for it self. Sense and Reason no Power can command. Is it possible (trow you) that King Richard should damn his Soul, and foul his Name with so abominable a Murther, and yet not mend his Case? Or do you think, that Men of Blood (that were his Instruments) did turn to Pity in the midst of their Execution? Whereas in cruel and savage Beasts, and Men also, the first Draught of Blood doth yet make them more fierce, and enraged. Do you not know, that the Bloody Executioners of Tyrants do go to such Errants, with an Halter about their neck: So that if they perform not, they are sure to die for it? And do you think, that these men would hazard their own lives, for sparing anothers? Admit they should have saved him: what should they have done with him? Turn him into London-Streets, that the watch-men or any Passenger, that should light upon him, might carry him before a Justice, and so all come to light? Or should they have kept him by them secretly? That surely would have required a great deal of Care, Charge, and continual Fears. But (my Lords) I labour too much in a clear Business. The King is so wise, and hath so good Friends abroad, as now he knoweth Duke Perkin from his Cradle. And because he is a great Prince, if you have any good Poet here, he can help him with Notes to write his Life; and to parallel him with Lambert Simnel, now the King's Falconer. And therefore (to speak plainly to your Lordships) it is the

strangest thing in the World, that the Lady Margaret (excuse us, if we name her, whose Malice to the King is both causeless and endless) should now when she is old, at the time when other Women give over Child-bearing, bring forth two such Monsters; being not the Births of nine or ten Months, but of many Tears. And whereas other natural Mothers bring forth Children weak, and not able to help themselves; she bringeth forth tall Striplings, able soon after their coming into the World, to bid Battel to mighty Kings. My Lords, we stay unwillingly upon this Part. We would to God, that Lady would once tast the Joys, which God Almighty doth serve up unto her, in beholding her Niece to Reign in such Honour, and with so much Royal Issue, which she might be pleased to accompt as her own. The Kings Request unto the Archduke, and your Lordships, might be; That, according to the example of King Charles, who hath already discarded him, you would banish this unworthy Fellow out of your Dominions. But because the King may justly expect more from an ancient Confederate, than from a new reconciled Enemy; he maketh his Request unto you, to deliver him up into his hands. Pirates and Impostures of this sort, being fit to be accounted the Common Enemies of Mankind, and no ways to be protected by the Law of Nations.

After some time of deliberation, the Ambassadors received this short Answer:

That the Archduke, for the love of King Henry, would in no sort ayd or assist the pretended Duke, but in all things conserve the Amity he had with the King. But for the Duchess Dowager, she was absolute in the Lands of her Dowry, and that he could not let her to dispose of her own.

THE King, upon the return of the Ambassadors, was nothing satisfied with this Answer. For well he knew, that a Patrimonial Dowry carried no part of Sovereignty, or Command of Forces. Besides, the Ambassadors told him plainly, that they saw the Duchess had a great Party in the Archduke's Council; and that howsoever it was carried in a course of connivence, yet the Archduke under-hand gave ayd and furtherance to Perkin. Wherefore (partly out of Courage, and partly out of Policy) the King forthwith banished all Flemings (as well their Persons, as their Wares) out of his Kingdom; commanding his Subjects likewise (and by name his Merchants-Adventurers) which had a Resiance in Antwerp, to return; translating the Mart (which commonly followed the English Cloth) unto Calice, and embarred also all further Trade for the future. This the King did, being sensible in point of honour, not to suffer a Pretender to the Crown of England, to affront him so near at hand, and he to keep terms of Friendship with the Countrey where did set up. But he had also a further reach

reach: for that he knew well, that the Subjects of *Flanders* drew so great commodity from the Trade of *England*, as by this *Embargo* they would soon wax weary of *Perkin*, and that the Tumults of *Flanders* had been so late and fresh, as it was no time for the Prince to displease the People. Nevertheless for forms sake, by way of requital, the Archduke did likewise banish the *English* out of *Flanders*; which in effect was done to his hand.

The King being well advertised, that *Perkin* did more trust upon Friends and Partakers within the Realm, than upon forein Arms, thought it behoved him to apply the *Remedy*, where the *Disease* lay; and to proceed with severity against some of the principal *Conspirators* here within the Realm; Thereby to purge the ill humours in *England*, and to cool the hopes in *Flanders*. Wherefore he caused to be apprehended (almost at an instant) *John Ratcliff* Lord *Fitz-water*, Sir *Simon Mountford*, Sir *Thomas Thwaites*, *William Daubigney*, *Robert Ratcliff*, *Thomas Chressenor*, and *Thomas Astwood*. All these were arraigned, convicted and condemned for *High-Treason*, in adhering, and promising ayd to *Perkin*. Of these, the Lord *Fitz-water* was conveyed to *Calice*, and there kept in hold, and in hope of life, until soon after (either impatient, or betrayed) he dealt with his Keeper to have escaped, and thereupon was beheaded. But Sir *Simon Mountford*, *Robert Ratcliff*, and *William Daubigney* were beheaded immediately after their Condemnation. The rest were pardoned, together with many others, Clerks and Laicks, amongst which were two *Dominican* Friars, and *William Worsey*, Dean of *St. Pauls*: which latter sort passed Examination, but came not to publick Tryal.

The *Lord Chamberlain* at that time was not touched; whether it were, that the King would not stir too many humours at once, but (after the manner of good Physicians) purge the Head last; or that *Clifford* (from whom most of these Discoveries came) reserved that Piece for his own coming over: signifying only to the King in the mean time, that he doubted there were some greater ones in the business, whereof he would give the King further account, when he came to his presence.

Upon *All-hallows-day-even*, being now the tenth year of the King's Reign, the King's second Son *Henry* was created Duke of *York*; and as well the Duke, as divers others, Noblemen, Knights-Bachelors, and Gentlemen of quality were made Knights of the *Bath*, according to the Ceremony. Upon the morrow after *Twelfth-day*, the King removed from *Westminster* (where he had kept his *Christmas*) to the *Tower of London*. This he did as soon as he had advertisement, that Sir *Robert Clifford* (in whose Bosom or Budget most of *Perkin's* secrets were laid up) was come into *England*. And the place of the *Tower* was chosen to that end, that if *Clifford* should accuse any of the *Great-ones*, they might without suspicion, or noise, or sending abroad of Warrants, be presently attached;

the *Court* and *Prison* being within the cincture of one Wall. After a day or two, the King drew unto him a selected *Council*, and admitted *Clifford* to his presence; who first fell down at his feet, and in all humble manner craved the King's Pardon, which the King then granted, though he were indeed secretly assured of his life before. Then commanded to tell his knowledge, he did amongst many others (of himself, not interrogated) appeach Sir *William Stanley*, the *Lord Chamberlain* of the King's Household.

The King seemed to be much amazed at the naming of this Lord, as if he had heard the news of some strange and fearful Prodigy. To hear a man that had done him service of so high a nature, as to save his Life, and set the Crown upon his head; a man, that enjoyed by his favour and advancement, so great a fortune, both in Honour and Riches; a man, that was tyed unto him in so near a band of Alliance, his Brother having married the King's Mother; and lastly, a man to whom he had committed the trust of his Person, in making him his *Chamberlain*. That this Man, no ways disgraced, no ways discontent, no ways put in fear, should be false unto him. *Clifford* was required to say over again, and again, the *Particulars* of his Accusation; being warned, that in a matter so unlikely, and that concerned so great a Servant of the King's, he should not in any wise go too far. But the King finding that he did sadly, and constantly (without hesitation or varying, and with those civil Protestations that were fit) stand to that that he had said, offering to justify it upon his soul and life; he caused him to be removed. And after he had not a little bemoaned himself unto his *Council* there present, gave order that Sir *William Stanley* should be restrained in his own Chamber, where he lay before, in the *Square Tower*. And the next day he was examined by the Lords. Upon his *Examination*, he denied little of that wherewith he was charged, nor endeavoured much to excuse or extenuate his fault. So that (not very wisely) thinking to make his Offence less by *Confession*, he made it enough for *Condemnation*. It was conceived, that he trusted much to his former Merits, and the interest that his Brother had in the King. But those helps were over-weighed by divers things that made against him, and were predominant in the King's nature and mind. First, an *Over-merit*; for convenient Merit, unto which reward may easily reach, doth best with Kings. Next the sense of his *Power*; for the King thought, that he that could set him up, was the more dangerous to pull him down. Thirdly, the glimmering of a *Confiscation*; for he was the richest *Subject* for value in the Kingdom: there being found in his Castle of *Holt* forty thousand Marks in ready Money, and Plate, besides Jewels, Household-stuff, Stocks upon his grounds, and other *Personal Estate*, exceeding great. And for his *Revenue* in Land and Fee, it was three thousand Pounds a year of old Rent, a great matter in those times. Lastly, the Nature

Nature of the *Time* ; for if the King had been out of fear of his own Estate , it was not unlike he would have spared his life. But the Cloud of so great a *Rebellion* hanging over his head , made him work sure. Wherefore after some six Weeks distance of time , which the King did honorably interpose , both to give space to his Brother's Intercession , and to shew to the world , that he had a conflict with himself what he should do ; he was arraigned of *High-Treason* , and condemned , and presently after beheaded.

Yet it is to this day left but in dark memory , both what the *Case* of this Noble Person was , for which he suffered ; and what likewise was the ground and cause of his defection , and the alienation of his heart from the King. His *Case* was said to be this : That in discourse between Sir Robert Clifford and him , he had said ; *That if he were sure , that that young man were King Edward's Son , he would never bear Arms against him.* This *Case* seems somewhat an hard *Case* , both in respect of the *Conditional* , and in respect of the other words. But for the *Conditional* , it seems the *Judges* of that time (who were Learned men , and the three chief of them of the *Privy Council*) thought it was a dangerous thing to admit *If's* and *And's* , to qualifie words of *Treason* ; whereby every man might express his malice , and blanch his danger. And it was like to the *Case* (in the following times) of *Elizabeth Barton* , the holy Maid of *Kent* ; who had said , *That if King Henry the Eighth did not take Catherine his wife again , he should be deprived of his Crown , and dye the death of a Dog.* And infinite *Cases* may be put of like nature. Which (it seemeth) the grave *Judges* taking into Consideration , would not admit of *Treasons* upon *Condition*. And as for the *Positive* words , *That he would not bear Arms against King Edward's Son* , though the words seem calm , yet it was a plain and direct *Overruling* of the King's Title , either by Line of *Lancaster* , or by Act of Parliament. Which (no doubt) pierced the King more , than if *Stanley* had charged his Lance upon him in the field. For if *Stanley* would hold that opinion , that a Son of King *Edward* had still the better right , he being so principal a person of Authority , and favour about the King ; it was to teach all *England* to say as much. And therefore (as those times were) that speech touched the quick. But some Writers do put this out of doubt ; for they say , that *Stanley* did expressly promise to ayd *Perkin* , and sent him some help of Treasure.

Now for the *Motive* of his falling off from the King ; It is true , that at *Bosworth-Field* the King was be-set , and in a manner inclosed round about by the Troops of King *Richard* , and in manifest danger of his life , when this *Stanley* was sent by his Brother , with three thousand men to his Rescue , which he performed so , that King *Richard* was slain upon the Place. So as the condition of Mortal men is not capable of a greater benefit , than the King received by the hands of *Stanley* ; being like the benefit of *Christ* ,

at

at once to Save, and Crown. For which service the King gave him great gifts, made him his *Counsellor* and *Chamberlain*; and (somewhat contrary to his nature) had winked at the great Spoils of *Bosworth-Field*, which came almost wholly to this man's hands, to his infinite enriching. Yet nevertheless blown up with the conceit of his *Merit*, he did not think he had received good *Measure* from the King, at least not *Pressing-down*, and *Running-over*, as he expected. And his ambition was so exorbitant, and unbounded, as he became *Suitor* to the King for the Earldom of *Chester*. Which ever being a kind of *Appennage* to the Principality of *Wales*, and using to go to the King's Son, his Suit did not only end in a *Denial*, but in a *Distaste*. The King perceiving thereby, that his *Desires* were intemperate, and his *Cogitations* vast, and irregular, and that his former *Benefits* were but cheap, and lightly regarded by him. Wherefore the King began not to brook him well. And as a little *Leaven* of new *Distaste* doth commonly sowre the whole *Lump* of former *Merits*, the King's *Wit* began now to suggest unto his *Passion*, that *Stanley*, at *Bosworth-Field*, though he came time enough to save his life, yet he stayed long enough to endanger it. But yet having no matter against him, he continued him in his *Places*, until this his *Fall*.

After him was made Lord Chamberlain, *Giles Lord Dawbeny*, a man of great sufficiency and valour; the more, because he was gentle and moderate.

There was a common Opinion, That Sir *Robert Clifford* (who now was become the *State-Informer*) was from the beginning an *Emissary*, and *Spy* of the King's; and that he fled over into *Flanders* with his consent and privity. But this is not probable; both because he never recovered that degree of Grace, which he had with the King before his going over: and chiefly, for that the *Discovery* which he had made touching the Lord Chamberlain (which was his great Service) grew not from any thing he learn'd abroad, for that he knew it well before he went.

These *Executions* (and especially that of the Lord Chamberlain's, which was the chief strength of the *Party*, and by means of Sir *Robert Clifford*, who was the most inward man of Trust amongst them) did extremely quail the Design of *Perkin*, and his complices, as well through Discouragement, as Distrust. So that they were now (like *Sand* without *Lime*) ill bound together; especially as many as were *English*: who were at a gaze, looking strange, one upon another, not knowing who was faithful to their *Side*; but thinking, that the King (what with his *Baits*, and what with his *Nets*) would draw them all unto him that were any thing worth. And indeed it came to pass, that divers came away by the *Thred*, sometimes one, and sometimes another. *Barley* (that was Joynt-Commissioner with *Clifford*) did hold out one of the longest, till *Perkin* was far worn; yet made his Peace

at the length. But the Fall of this *Great man*, being in so high Authority and Favour (as was thought) with the King; and the manner of Carriage of the Business, as if there had been secret Inquisition upon him, for a great time before, and the Cause for which he suffered, which was little more, than for saying in effect, *That the Title of York was better than the Title of Lancaster*; which was the Case almost of every man (at the least in Opinion;) was matter of great Terrour amongst all the King's Servants and Subjects: Insomuch, as no man almost thought himself secure; and men durst scarce commune or talk one with another: but there was a general Diffidence every where. Which nevertheless made the King rather more *Absolute*, than more *Safe*. For, *Bleeding Inwards and shut Vapours strangle soonest, and oppress most*.

Hereupon presently came forth *Swarms* and *Floes* of *Libels* (which are the *Gists* of Liberty of Speech restrained, and the *Females* of Sedition) containing bitter *Invectives*, and Slanders against the King, and some of the *Council*. For the contriving and dispersing whereof (after great Diligence of Inquiry) five mean persons were caught, and executed.

Mean while, the King did not neglect *Ireland*, being the Soil where the *Musbromes* and *Upstart-weeds* (that spring up in a Night) did chiefly prosper. He sent therefore from hence (for the better settling of his affairs there) *Commissioners* of both *Robes*: The *Prior* of *Lanthony*, to be his *Chancellour* in that Kingdom; and Sir *Edward Poynings*, with a Power of Men, and a *Marshal Commission*, together with a Civil Power of his *Lieutenant*, with a Clause, That the Earl of *Kildare*, then *Deputy*, should obey him. But, the *Wild-Irish* (who were the principal Offendors) fled into the Woods and Bogs, after their manner: and those, that knew themselves guilty, in the *Pale*, fled to them. So that Sir *Edward Poynings* was enforced to make a Wild-Chase upon the *Wild-Irish*: Where (in respect of the Mountains and Fastnesses) he did little good. Which (either out of a suspicious Melancholy upon his bad Success, or the better to save his service from *Disgrace*) he would needs impute unto the *Comfort*, that the *Rebels* should receive under-hand from the Earl of *Kildare*; every light suspicion growing upon the Earl, in respect of the *Kildare* that was in the Action of *Lambert Simmel*, and slain at *Stoke-field*. Wherefore he caused the Earl to be apprehended, and sent into *England*; where, upon Examination, he cleared himself so well, as he was re-placed in his *Government*. But, *Poynings* (the better to make compensation of the Meagerness of his Service in the Wars, by acts of Peace) called a *Parliament*; where was made that memorable *Act*, which at this day is called *Poynings Law*, whereby all the *Statutes* of *England* were made to be of force in *Ireland*. For, before they were not: neither are any now in force in *Ireland*, which were made in *England* since that time; which was the tenth year of the King.

About

About this time, began to be discovered in the King that disposition, which, afterward nourished and whet-on by bad *Counsellors* and *Ministers*, proved the *Blot* of his times; which was, the course he took, to crush *Treasure* out of his Subjects Purses, by Forfeitures upon *Penal Laws*. At this, men did startle the more at this time, because it appeared plainly to be in the King's *Nature*, and not out of his *Necessity*, he being now in *Float* for *Treasure*; For that he had newly received the *Peace-money* from *France*, the *Benevolence-money* from his Subjects, and great *Casualties* upon the Confiscations of the *Lord Chamberlain*, and divers others. The first noted *Case* of this kind, was that of Sir *William Capel*, Alderman of *London*: Who, upon sundry *Penal Laws*, was condemned in the sum of seven and twenty hundred Pounds, and compounded with the King for sixteen hundred: And yet after, *Empson* would have cut another Chop out of him, if the King had not died in the instant.

The Summer following, the King, to comfort his *Mother* (whom he did always tenderly love and revere) and to make Demonstration to the World, that the proceedings against Sir *William Stanley* (which was imposed upon him by necessity of State) had not in any degree diminished the affection he bare to *Thomas*, his Brother; went in Progress to *Latham*, to make merry with his Mother, and the Earl; and lay there divers days.

During this Progress, *Perkin Warbeck* finding, that time and temporizing, which (whilest his practices were covert and wrought well in *England*) made for him; did now, when they were discovered and defeated, rather make against him, (for that when matters once go down the Hill, they stay not without a new force) resolved to try his adventure in some exploit upon *England*; hoping still upon the affections of the Common People towards the House of *York*. Which body of Common People he thought was not to be practised upon, as persons of Quality are; But, that they only practice upon their affections, was, to set up a *Standard* in the field. The Place where he should make his Attempt, he chose to be the Coast of *Kent*.

The King by this time was grown to such an height of Reputation for cunning and Policy, that every Accident and Event, that went well, was laid and imputed to his foresight, as if he had set it before: As, in this particular of *Perkin's* Design upon *Kent*. For, the world would not believe afterwards, but the King, having secret Intelligence of *Perkin's* intention for *Kent* (the better to draw it on) went of purpose into the North, a-far-off, laying an open side unto *Perkin*, to make him come to the close, and so to trip up his heels, having made sure in *Kent* beforehand.

But so it was, that *Perkin* had gathered together a Power of all Nations, neither in number, nor in the hardiness and courage of the

the Persons, contemptible; but, in their nature and fortunes, to be feared as well of *Friends* as *Enemies*; being *Bankrupts*, and many of them *Felons*, and such as lived by *Rapine*. These he put to Sea, and arrived upon the Coast of *Sandwich* and *Deal* in *Kent*, about *July*.

There he cast Anchor; and to prove the affections of the People, sent some of his men to land, making great boast of the Power that was to follow. The *Kentish-men* (perceiving that *Perkin* was not followed by any *English* of name or account, and that his forces consisted but of strangers born, and most of them base People, and *Free-booters*, fitter to spoil a *Coast*, than to recover a *Kingdom*) resorting unto the principal *Gentlemen* of the Countrey, professed their loyalty to the King, and desired to be directed and commanded for the best of the King's service. The *Gentlemen*, entering into Consultation, directed some forces in good number, to shew themselves upon the *Coast*; and some of them to make signs, to entice *Perkin's* Soldiers to land, as if they would joyn with them: and some others to appear from some other places, and to make semblance as if they fled from them; the better to encourage them to land. But, *Perkin* (who, by playing the Prince, or else taught by Secretary *Frion*, had learned thus much, That People under Command; do use to consult, and after to march in order; and *Rebels* contrariwise run upon an *Head* together in confusion) considering the delay of time, and observing their orderly, and not tumultuary Arming, doubted the worst. And therefore the wily *Youth* would not set one foot out of his Ship, till he might see things were sure. Wherefore the King's *Forces*, perceiving that they could draw on no more than those that were formerly landed, set upon them, and cut them in pieces, ere they could flie back to their Ships. In which *skirmish* (besides those that fled, and were slain) there were taken about an hundred and fifty persons. Which, for that the King thought, that to punish a few for example was *Gentleman's-play*, but for *Rascal-People*, they were to be cut off every man, especially in the beginning of an Enterprize; and likewise for that he saw, that *Perkin's* Forces would now consist chiefly of such *Rabble* and scum of desperate people; he therefore hanged them all, for the greater terrour. They were brought to *London*, all rail'd in Ropes, like a Team of Horses in a Cart; and were executed some of them at *London*, and *Wapping*, and the rest at divers places upon the Sea-Coast of *Kent*, *Sussex*, and *Norfolk*; for Sea-marks, or Light-houses, to teach *Perkin's* People to avoid the Coast. The King, being advertised of the landing of the *Rebels*, thought to leave his Progress: But, being certified the next day, that they were partly defeated, and partly fled; he continued his Progress, and sent Sir *Richard Guilford* into *Kent* in message. Who, calling the Countrey together, did much commend (from the King) their fidelity, manhood, and well handling

of that service; and gave them all thanks, and (in private) promised Reward to some particulars.

Upon the sixteenth of *November* (this being the Eleventh year of the King) was holden the *Serjeants-Feast*, at *Ely-Place*; there being nine *Serjeants* of that *Call*. The King, to honour the Feast, was present with his Queen at the Dinner; being a Prince, that was ever ready to grace and countenance the Professors of the *Law*; having a little of that, *That as he governed his Subjects by his Laws, so he governed his Laws by his Lawyers.*

This year also the King entred into League with the *Italian* Potentates, for the defence of *Italy*, against *France*. For, King *Charles* had conquered the Realm of *Naples*, and lost it again, in a kind of *Felicity* of a Dream. He passed the whole length of *Italy* without resistance: so that it was true which Pope *Alexander* was wont to say; *That the French-men came into Italy, with Chalk in their hands, to mark up their lodgings, rather than with Swords to fight.* He likewise entred and won, in effect, the whole Kingdom of *Naples* it self, without striking stroke. But, presently there-upon, he did commit and multiply so many Errours, as was too great a task for the best fortune to overcome. He gave no contentment to the Barons of *Naples*, of the Faction of the *Angevines*; but, scattered his rewards according to the mercenary appetites of some about him. He put all *Italy* upon their Guard, by the seizing and holding of *Ostia*, and the protecting of the Liberty of *Pisa*: which made all men suspect that his purposes looked further, than his Title of *Naples*. He fell too soon at difference with *Ludovico Sfortia*; who was the man that carried the Keys which brought him in, and shut him out. He neglected to extinguish some reliques of the War. And lastly, in regard of his easie passage through *Italy* without resistance, he entred into an over-much despising of the Arms of the *Italians*: whereby he left the Realm of *Naples*, at his departure, so much the less provided. So that not long after his return, the whole Kingdom revolted to *Ferdinando* the younger, and the *French* were quite driven out. Nevertheless, *Charles* did make both great threats, and great preparations, to re-enter *Italy* once again. Wherefore, at the instance of divers of the States of *Italy* (and especially of Pope *Alexander*) there was a League concluded, between the said Pope, *Maximilian* King of *Romans*, *Henry* King of *England*, *Ferdinando* and *Isabella*, King and Queen of *Spain* (for so they are constantly placed in the Original Treaty throughout,) *Augustissimo* *Barbadico*, Duke of *Venice*, and *Ludovico Sfortia*, Duke of *Millan*, for the common defence of their Estates. Wherein though *Ferdinando* of *Naples* was not named as principal; yet, no doubt, the Kingdom of *Naples* was tacitly included, as a *Fee* of the Church.

There dyed also this year *Cecile*, Duchess of *Tork*, Mother to King *Edward* the Fourth, at her Castle of *Barkhamstead*, being of extreme years;

years; and who had lived to see three Princes of her body crowned, and four murdered. She was buried at *Foderingham*, by her Husband.

This year also the King called his *Parliament*: where many Laws were made, of a more private and vulgar nature, than ought to detain the *Reader* of an *History*. And it may be justly suspected, by the proceedings following, that as the King did excell in good Common-wealth *Laws*; so nevertheless he had, in secret, a design to make use of them, as well for collecting of *Treasure*, as for correcting of *Manners*; and so, meaning thereby to harrow his People, did accumulate them the rather.

The principal Law, that was made this *Parliament*, was a Law of a strange nature: rather just, than legal; and more magnanimous than provident. This Law did ordain, That no person, that did assist in Arms, or otherwise, the King for the time being, should after be impeached therefore, or attainted, either by the course of the Law, or by Act of *Parliament*: But, if any such Act of *Attainder* did happen to be made, it should be void, and of none effect; For that it was agreeable to reason of *Estate*, that the *Subject* should not enquire of the justness of the King's Title, or *Quarrel*; and it was agreeable to good *Conscience*, (that whatsoever the fortune of the War were) the *Subject* should not suffer for his Obedience. The spirit of this Law was wonderful Pious and Noble: being like in matter of *War*, unto the spirit of *David* in matter of *Plague*, who said, *If I have sinned, strike me; but what have these sheep done?* Neither wanted this Law parts of prudent and deep fore-sight. For, it did the better take away occasion, for the People to busie themselves, to pry into the King's Title; for that howsoever it fell, their safety was already provided for. Besides, it could not but greatly draw unto him, the love and hearts of the People, because he seemed more careful for them, than for himself. But yet nevertheless, it did take off from his *Party*, that great *Tye* and *Spur* of necessity, to fight and go *Victors* out of the field; considering their lives and fortunes were put in safety, and protected, whether they stood to it, or ran away. But the force and obligation of this Law was in it self *Illusory*, as to the latter part of it; by a precedent Act of *Parliament*, to bind or frustrate a *future*. For a supreme and absolute Power cannot conclude it self, neither can that which is in nature revocable be made fixed; no more than if a man should appoint or declare by his Will, that if he made any Latter Will, it should be void. And for the *Case* of the Act of *Parliament*, there is a notable President of it in King *Henry* the Eighth's time: Who, doubting he might dye in the minority of his Son, procured an Act to pass; *That no Statute made during the minority of the King, should bind him or his Successors, except it were confirmed by the King under his great Seal, at his full age*. But the first Act that passed in King *Edward* the Sixth his

time, was an Act of *Repeal* of that former Act; at which time nevertheless the King was *Minor*. But things that do not bind, may satisfy for the time.

There was also made a shoaring or under-propping Act for the *Benevolence*; to make the summs which any person had agreed to pay, and nevertheless were not brought in, to be leviable by course of Law. Which Act did not only bring in the *Arrears*, but did indeed countenance the whole business, and was pretended to be made at the desire of those, that had been forward to pay.

This *Parliament* also was made that good Law, which gave the *Attaint* upon a false *Verdict* between *Party* and *Party*, which before was a kind of *Evangile*, irremediable. It extends not to causes *Capital*, as well because they are for the most part at the King's Suit; as because in them (if they be followed in Course of *Indictment*) there passeth a double *Jury*, the *Indictors* and the *Triers*; and so not Twelve Men, but Four and twenty. But it seemeth that was not the only reason; for this reason holdeth not in the *Appeal*. But the great reason was, lest it should tend to the discouragement of *Jurors* in Cases of *Life* and *Death*; if they should be subject to Suit and Penalty, where the favour of *Life* maketh against them. It extendeth not also to any Suit, where the *Demand* is under the value of forty Pounds; for that in such Cases of petty value, it would not quit the Charge, to go about again.

There was another Law made against a branch of *Ingratitude* in Women, who having been advanced by their *Husbands*, or their *Husbands Ancestors*, should alien, and thereby seek to defeat the *Heirs*, or those in *Remainder*, of the Lands, whereunto they had been so advanced. The remedy was, by giving power to the next, to enter for a forfeiture.

There was also enacted that Charitable Law, for the admission of poor Suitors *In Forma Pauperis*, without Fee to *Counsellor*, *Attorney*, or *Clerk*, whereby poor men became rather able to *vex*, than unable to *sue*. There were divers other good Laws made that *Parliament*, as we said before: but we still observe our manner, in selecting out those, that are not of a *Vulgar* nature.

The King this while, though he sat in *Parliament*, as in full *Peace*, and seemed to account of the designs of *Perkin* (who was now returned into *Flanders*) but as a *May-game*; yet having the composition of a wise King (*Stout* without, and *Apprehensive* within) had given order for the watching of *Beacons* upon the *Coasts*, and erecting more where they stood too thin; and had a careful eye where this wandering *Cloud* would break. But *Perkin* advised to keep his fire (which hitherto burned as it were upon green wood) alive, with continual blowing; Sailed again into *Ireland*; whence he had formerly departed, rather upon the hopes *France*, than upon any unreadiness or discouragement he found in that People. But in the space of time between the King's Diligence
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and *Poynings* Commission, had so settled things there, as there was nothing left for *Perkin*, but the blustering affection of wild and naked people. Wherefore he was advised by his *Council*, to seek ayd of the King of *Scotland*; a *Prince* young, and valorous, and in good terms with his *Nobles* and *People*, and ill affected to King *Henry*. At this time also both *Maximilian* and *Charles* of *France* began to bear no good will to the King. The one being displeased with the King's *Prohibition* of Commerce with *Flanders*; the other holding the King for suspect, in regard of his late entry into League with the *Italians*. Wherefore besides the open Ayds of the *Duchess* of *Burgundy*, which did with Sails and Oars put on and advance *Perkin's* designs, there wanted not some secret Tides from *Maximilian* and *Charles*, which did further his fortunes. In so much as they, both by their secret Letters, and Messages, recommended him to the King of *Scotland*.

Perkin therefore coming into *Scotland* upon those hopes, with a well appointed company, was by the King of *Scots* (being formerly well prepared) honourably welcomed, and soon after his arrival admitted to his Presence, in a solemn manner. For the King received him in State in his Chamber of Presence, accompanied with divers of his Nobles. And *Perkin* well attended, as well with those that the King had sent before him, as with his own Train, entred the room where the King was, and coming near to the King, and bowing a little to embrace him, he retired some paces back, and with a loud voice (that all that were present might hear him) made his Declaration in this manner:

High and Mighty King, your Grace, and these your Nobles here present, may be pleased benignly to bow your Ears, to hear the Tragedy of a young Man, that by right ought to hold in his hand the Ball of a Kingdom; but by Fortune is made Himself a Ball, tossed from Misery to Misery, and from Place to Place. You see here before you the Spectacle of a Plantagenet, who hath been carried from the Nursery to the Sanctuary; from the Sanctuary, to the direful Prison; from the Prison, to the hand of the cruel Tormentor; and from that hand, to the wide Wilderneck (as I may truly call it) for so the world hath been to me. So that he that is born to a great Kingdom, hath not ground to set his foot upon, more than this where he now standeth, by your Princely Favour. Edward the Fourth, late King of England, (as your Grace cannot but have heard) left two Sons; Edward, and Richard Duke of York, both very young. Edward, the eldest succeeded their Father in the Crown, by the name of King Edward the Fifth. But Richard, Duke of Gloucester, their unnatural Uncle, first thirsting after the Kingdom, through Ambition, and afterwards thirsting for their Blood, out of desire to secure himself; employed an Instrument of his (confident to him, as he thought) to murder them both. But this Man that was employed to execute that execrable Tragedy, having cruelly slain King Edward,

Edward the eldest of the two, was moved partly by Remorse, and partly by some other mean, to save Richard his Brother; making a Report nevertheless to the Tyrant, that he had performed his Commandment for both Brethren. This Report was accordingly believed, and published generally. So that the world hath been possessed of an Opinion, that they both were barbarously made away, though ever Truth hath some sparks that flie abroad, until it appear in due time, as this hath had. But Almighty God, that stopped the mouth of the Lion, and saved little Joas from the Tyranny of Athaliah, when she massacred the King's Children; and did save Isaac, when the hand was stretched forth to sacrifice him, preserved the second Brother. For I my self, that stand here in your presence, am that very Richard, Duke of York, Brother of that unfortunate Prince, King Edward the Fifth, now the most rightful surviving Heir-male to that Victorious and most Noble Edward, of that name the Fourth, late King of England. For the manner of my Escape, it is fit it should pass in silence, or (at least) in a more secret Relation: for that it may concern some alive, and the memory of some that are dead. Let it suffice to think, that I had then a Mother living, a Queen, and one that expected daily such a Commandment from the Tyrant, for the murdering of her Children. Thus in my tender age escaping by God's mercy out of London, I was secretly conveyed over Sea. Where, after a time, the Party that had me in Charge, (upon what new Fears, change of Mind, or Practice, God knoweth) suddenly forsook me. Whereby I was forced to wander abroad, to seek mean Conditions for the sustaining of my Life. Wherefore distracted between several Passions, the one of fear to be known, lest the Tyrant should have a new Attempt upon me; the other of Grief and Disdain to be unknown, and to live in that base and servile manner that I did; I resolved with my self to expect the Tyrant's death, and then to put my self into my Sisters hands, who was next Heir to the Crown. But in this season, it happened one Henry Tidder, Son to Edmond Tidder Earl of Richmond, to come from France, and enter into the Realm, and by subtil and foul means to obtain the Crown of the same, which to me rightfully appertained. So that it was but a change, from Tyrant to Tyrant. This Henry, my extreme and mortal Enemy, so soon as he had knowledge of my being alive, imagined and wrought all the subtil ways and means he could, to procure my final Destruction. For my mortal Enemy hath not only falsly surmised me to be a feigned Person, giving me Nick-names, so abusing the world; but also, to deferr and put me from entry into England, hath offered large summs of Money, to corrupt the Princes and their Ministers, with whom I have been retained; and made importune Labours to certain Servants about my Person, to murder or Poyson me, and others to forsake and leave my righteous Quarrel, and to depart from my Service, as Sir Robert Clifford, and others. So that every man of Reason may well perceive, that Henry, calling himself King of England, needed not to have bestowed such great summs of Treasure, nor so to have busied himself with importune and incessant Labour and Industry, to compass my Death and Ruine; if I had been

been such a feigned Person. But the truth of my Cause being so manifest, moved the most Christian King Charles, and the Lady Duchess Dowager of Burgundy, my most dear Aunt, not only to acknowledge the truth thereof, but lovingly to assist me. But it seemeth that God above (for the good of this whole Island, and the knitting of these two Kingdoms of England and Scotland in a strait Concord and Amity, by so great an Obligation) had reserved the placing of me in the Imperial Throne of England, for the Arms and Succours of your Grace. Neither is it the first time that a King of Scotland hath supported them, that were bereft and spoiled of the Kingdom of England; as of late (in fresh memory) it was done in the Person of Henry the Sixth. Wherefore for that your Grace hath given clear signs, that you are in no Noble quality inferiour to your Royal Ancestors; I, so distressed a Prince, was hereby moved to come and put my self into your Royal Hands, desiring your Assistance to recover my Kingdom of England; promising faithfully to bear my self towards your Grace no otherwise, than if I were your own Natural Brother, and will upon the Recovery of mine Inheritance, gratefully do you all the Pleasure that is in my utmost Power.

After Perkin had told his Tale, King James answered bravely and wisely; That whatsoever he were, he should not repent him of putting himself into his hand. And from that time forth, though there wanted not some about him, that would have perswaded him, that all was but an Illusion; yet notwithstanding, either taken by Perkin's amiable and alluring behaviour, or inclining to the recommendation of the great Princes abroad, or willing to take an occasion of a War against King Henry, he entertained him in all things, as became the person of Richard Duke of York; embraced his Quarrel, (and the more to put it out of doubt, that he took him to be a great Prince, and not a Representation only) he gave consent that this Duke should take to Wife the Lady Catherine Gordon, Daughter to Earl Huntley, being a near Kinswoman to the King himself, and a young Virgin of excellent beauty and virtue.

Not long after, the King of Scots in person, with Perkin in his company, entred with a great Army (though it consisted chiefly of Borderers, being raised somewhat suddenly) into Northumberland. And Perkin, for a Perfume before him as he went, caused to be published a Proclamation of this tenour following, in the name of Richard Duke of York, true Inheritor of the Crown of England.

IT hath pleased God, who putteth down the Mighty from their Seat, and exalteth the Humble, and suffereth not the hopes of the Just to perish in the end, to give Us means at the length, to shew Our Selves armed unto Our Lieges and People of England. But far be it from Us, to intend their hurt and damage, or to make war upon them, otherwise than to deliver Our Self and them from Tyranny and Oppression. For, Our mortal Enemy Henry Tiddler, a false Usurper

* The Original of this Proclamation remaineth with Sir Robert Cotton, a worthy Preserver and Treasurer of rare Antiquities: from whose Manuscripts I have had much light for the furnishing of this Work.

of

of the Crown of England, (which toUs by Natural and Lineal Right appertaineth) knowing in his own Heart Our undoubted Right, (we being the very Richard, Duke of York, younger Son, and now surviving Heir-male of the Noble and Victorious Edward the Fourth, late King of England) hath not only deprived Us of Our Kingdom, but likewise by all foul and wicked means, sought to betray Us, and bereave Us of Our Life. Yet if his Tyranny only extended it self to Our Person (although Our Royal Blood teacheth Us to be sensible of Injuries) it should be less to Our Grief. But this Tidder, who boasteth himself to have overthrown a Tyrant, hath ever since his first entrance into his Usurped Reign, put little in practice, but Tyranny and the feats thereof.

For King Richard Our unnatural Uncle, although desire of Rule did blind him, yet in his other actions (like a true Plantagenet) was Noble, and loved the Honour of the Realm, and the Contentment and Comfort of his Nobles and People. But this Our Mortal Enemy (agreeable to the meanness of his Birth) hath trod under foot the Honour of this Nation; selling Our best Confederates for Money, and making Merchandize of the Blood, Estates, and Fortunes of Our Peers and Subjects, by feigned wars, and dishonourable Peace, only to enrich his Coffers. Nor unlike hath been his hateful Mis-government, and evil Deportments at home. First, he hath (to fortifie his false Quarrel) caused divers Nobles of this Our Realm (whom he held suspect, and stood in dread of) to be cruelly murthered; as Our Cousin Sir William Stanley Lord Chamberlain, Sir Simon Mountfort, Sir Robert Ratcliff, William Dawbeney, Humphrey Stafford, and many others, besides such as have dearly bought their Lives with intolerable Ransoms. Some of which Nobles are now in the Sanctuary. Also he hath long kept, and yet keepeth in Prison, Our right entirely beloved Cousin Edward, Son and Heir to Our Uncle Duke of Clarence, and others; with-holding from them their rightful Inheritance, to the intent they should never be of might and power, to aid and assist Us at Our need, after the duty of their Liegeances. He also married by compulsion certain of Our Sisters, and also the Sister of Our said Cousin the Earl of Warwick, and divers other Ladies of the Royal Blood, unto certain of his Kinsmen and Friends of simple and low Degree, and putting apart all well-disposed Nobles, he hath none in favour and trust about his Person, but Bishop Fox, Smith, Bray, Lovel, Oliver King, David Owen, Risley, Turbervile, Tiler, Cholmley, Empson, James Hobart, John Cut, Garth, Henry Wyat, and such other Caitiffs and Villains of Birth, which by subtil Inventions and Pilling of the People, have been the principal Finders, Occasioners, and Counsellors of the Mis-rule and Mischief now reigning in England.

We remembring these Premisses, with the great and execrable Offences daily committed and done by Our foresaid great Enemy, and his Adherents, in breaking the Liberties and Franchises of Our Mother the Holy Church, upon pretences of wicked and Heathenish Policy, to the high displeasure of Almighty God; besides the manifold Treasons, abominable Murthers, Man-slaughters, Robberies, Extortions, the daily Pilling of the People,

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by Disms, Taxes, Tallages, Benevolences, and other unlawful Impositions, and grievous Exactions, with many other heinous Effects, to the likely destruction and desolation of the whole Realm; shall by God's grace, and the help and assistance of the great Lords of Our Blood, with the counsel of other sad Persons, see that the Commodities of Our Realm be employed to the most advantage of the same; the intercourse of Merchandise betwixt Realm and Realm, to be ministred and handled, as shall more be to the Common-weal and prosperity of Our Subjects; and all such Disms, Taxes, Tallages, Benevolences, unlawful Impositions, and grievous Exactions, as be above rehearsed to be fore-done and laid apart, and never from henceforth to be called upon, but in such cases as Our Noble Progenitors, Kings of England, have of old time been accustomed to have the ayd, succour, and help of their Subjects and true Liege-men.

And further, we do out of Our Grace and Clemency, hereby as well publish and promise to all our Subjects Remission and free Pardon of all By-past Offences whatsoever, against Our Person, or Estate, in adhering to Our said Enemy, by whom (We know well) they have been misled, if they shall within time convenient submit themselves unto Us. And for such as shall come with the foremost, to assist Our Righteous Quarrel, we shall make them so far partakers of Our Princely Favour and Bounty, as shall be highly for the Comfort of them and theirs, both during their life, and after their death. As also we shall by all means, which God shall put into Our hands, demean Our selves to give Royal contentment to all Degrees and Estates of Our People, maintaining the Liberties of Holy Church in their Entire, preserving the Honours, Priviledges, and Prebeminences of Our Nobles, from contempt or disparagement, according to the dignity of their Blood. We shall also unyoke Our People from all heavy Burthens and Endurances, and confirm Our Cities, Boroughs, and Towns in their Charters and Freedoms, with enlargement, where it shall be deserved; and in all points give Our Subjects cause to think, that the blessed and debonair Government of Our Noble Father King Edward (in his last times) is in Us revived.

And for as much as the putting to death, or taking alive of Our said Mortal Enemy, may be a mean to stay much effusion of Blood, which otherwise may ensue, if by Compulsion or fair Promises, he shall draw after him any number of Our Subjects to resist Us; which We desire to avoid (though we be certainly informed, that Our said Enemy is purposed and prepared to flie the Land, having already made over great masses of the Treasure of Our Crown, the better to support him in Forein Parts) we do hereby declare, That whosoever shall take or distress Our said Enemy (though the Party be of never so mean a Condition) he shall be by Us rewarded with a Thousand Pound in Money, forthwith to be laid down to him, and an Hundred Marks by the year of Inheritance; besides that he may otherwise merit, both toward God and all good People, for the destruction of such a Tyrant.

Lastly, we do all men to wit, and herein we take also God to witnes,

That whereas God hath moved the Heart of Our dearest Cousin, the King of Scotland, to aid Us in Person, in this Our righteous Quarrel; it is altogether without any Pact or Promise, or so much as demand of any thing, that may prejudice Our Crown, or Subjects: But contrariwise with promise on Our said Cousin's part, that whensoever he shall find Us in sufficient strength to get the upper hand of Our Enemy, (which we hope will be very suddenly) he will forthwith peaceably return into his own Kingdom; contenting himself only with the glory of so Honourable an Enterprize, and Our true and faithful Love and Amity. Which We shall ever (by the Grace of Almighty God) so order, as shall be to the great comfort of both Kingdoms.

BUT Perkin's Proclamation did little edifie with the people of England; neither was he the better welcom for the company he came in. Wherefore the King of Scotland seeing none came in to Perkin, nor none stirred any where in his favour, turned his Enterprize into a *Rode*; and wasted and destroyed the Countrey of Northumberland with fire and sword. But hearing that there were Forces coming against him, and not willing that they should find his men heavy and laden with booty, he returned into Scotland with great Spoils, deferring further prosecution, till another time. It is said, that Perkin acting the part of a Prince handsomly, when he saw the *Scottish* fell to waste the Countrey, came to the King in a passionate manner, making great lamentation, and desired, That that might not be the manner of making the War; for that no Crown was so dear to his mind, as that he desired to purchase it with the blood and ruine of his Countrey. Whereunto the King answered half in sport; that he doubted much, he was careful for that that was none of his, and that he should be too good a *Steward* for his Enemy, to save the Countrey to his use.

By this time, being the Eleventh year of the King, the Interruption of Trade between the *English* and the *Flemish*, began to pinch the *Merchants* of both Nations very fore. Which moved them, by all means they could devise, to affect and dispose their *Sovereigns* respectively, to open the *Intercourse* again. Wherein, time favoured them. For the Arch-Duke and his Council began to see, that Perkin would prove but a *Runagate*, and *Citizen* of the *World*; and that it was the part of Children to fall out about *Babies*. And the King on his part, after the Attempts upon *Kent* and *Northumberland*, began to have the business of Perkin in less estimation; so as he did not put it to accompt, in any Consultation of *State*. But that that moved him most, was, that being a King that loved Wealth and Treasure, he could not endure to have Trade sick, nor any Obstruction to continue in the *Gate-vein*, which disperseth that blood. And yet he kept State so far, as first to be sought unto. Wherein the *Merchant-Adventurers* likewise, (being a strong Company at that time, and well under-set with rich men, and

and good order) did hold out bravely; taking off the Commodities of the *Kingdom*, though they lay dead upon their hands for want of *Vent*. At the last, *Commissioners* met at *London*, to Treat. On the King's part; Bishop *Fox* Lord Privy Seal, Viscount *Wells*, *Kendal* Prior of *St. John's*, *Warham* Master of the *Rolls*, who began to gain much upon the King's opinion; *Mrswick*, who was almost ever one, and *Risley*. On the Arch-Duke's part, the Lord *Beyers* his Admiral, the Lord *Verunsel* President of *Flanders*, and others. These concluded a perfect Treaty, both of *Amity* and *Intercourse*, between the King and the Arch-Duke; containing Articles both of *State*, *Commerce*, and *Free-Fishing*. This is that Treaty, which the *Flemings* call at this day, *Intercursus Magnus*; both because it is more compleat, than the precedent Treaties of the Third and Fourth years of the King: and chiefly to give it a difference from the Treaty that followed in the One and twentieth year of the King, which they call *Intercursus Malus*. In this Treaty, there was an expresse Article against the Reception of the Rebels of either Prince by other; purporting, that if any such Rebel should be required by the Prince whose Rebel he was, of the Prince Confederate, that forthwith the Prince Confederate should by Proclamation command him to avoid the Countrey. Which if he did not within fifteen days, the Rebel was to stand proscribed, and put out of Protection. But nevertheless in this Article, *Perkin* was not named, neither perhaps contained, because he was no Rebel. But by this means his wings were clipt off his Followers, that were *English*. And it was expressly comprised in the Treaty, that it should extend to the Territories of the *Duchess Dowager*. After the Intercourse thus restored, the *English* Merchants came again to their Mansion at *Antwerp*, where they were received with Procession and great Joy.

The Winter following, being the Twelfth year of his reign, the King called again his *Parliament*: Where he did much exaggerate both the *Malice*, and the cruel *Predatory War* lately made by the King of *Scotland*; That that King, being in Amity with him, and no ways provoked, should so burn in hatred towards him, as to drink of the *Lees* and *Dregs* of *Perkin's* Intoxication; who was every where else detected and discarded. And that when he perceived it was out of his reach, to do the King any hurt, he had turned his Arms upon unarmed and unprovided people, to spoil only and depopulate, contrary to the *Laws* both of *War* and *Peace*: Concluding, that he could neither with Honour, nor with the safety of his People, to whom he did owe Protection, let pass these wrongs unrevenged. The *Parliament* understood him well, and gave him a *Subsidy*, limited to the sum of one hundred and twenty thousand Pounds, besides two *Fifteens*. For his *Wars* were always to him as a *Mine* of *Treasure*, of a strange kind of *Ore*; *Iron* at the top, and *Gold* and *Silver* at the bottom. At this *Parliament* (for that

there had been so much time spent in making *Laws* the year before, and for that it was called purposely in respect of the *Scottish War* there were no *Laws* made to be remembred. Only there passed a *Law*, at the Suit of the *Merchant-Adventurers of England*, against the *Merchant-Adventurers of London*, for *Monopolizing* and exacting upon the Trade: which it seemeth they did, a little to save themselves, after the hard time they had sustained by want of Trade. But those *Innovations* were taken away by *Parliament*.

But it was fatal to the King, to fight for his Money. And though he avoided to fight with *Enemies* abroad, yet he was still enforced to fight for it with *Rebels* at home. For no sooner began the *Subsidie* to be levied in *Cornwal*, but the people there began to grudge and murmur. The *Cornish* being a race of men, stout of stomach, mighty of body and limb, and that lived hardly in a barren Countrey, and many of them could (for a need) live underground, that were *Tinners*; they muttered extremely, that it was a thing not to be suffered, that for a little stir of the *Scots*, soon blown over, they should be thus grinded to Powder with *Payments*: And said, it was for them to pay, that had too much; and lived idly. But they would eat the bread they got with the sweat of their brows, and no man should take it from them. And as in the *Tides* of *People* once up, there want not commonly stirring *winds* to make them more rough: So this *People* did light upon two *Ring-leaders*, or Captains of the *Rout*. The one was one *Michael Joseph*, a Black-smith or Farrier of *Bodmin*; a notable talking Fellow, and no less desirous to be talked of. The other was *Thomas Flammoche*, a Lawyer; who, by telling his neighbours commonly upon any occasion, that the *Law* was on their side, had gotten great sway amongst them. This man talked learnedly, and as if he could tell how to make a *Rebellion*, and never break the *Peace*. He told the people, that *Subsidies* were not to be granted nor levied in this case; that is, for Wars of *Scotland*, (for that the *Law* had provided another course, by service of *Escuage*, for those Journies,) much less when all was quiet, and War was made but a *Pretence* to poll and pill the *People*: And therefore that it was good, they should not stand now like sheep before the Shearers, but put on Harness, and take Weapons in their hands: Yet to do no creature hurt; but go and deliver the King a *Strong Petition*, for the laying down of those grievous *Payments*, and for the punishment of those that had given him that Counsel; to make others beware how they did the like in time to come: And said, for his part he did not see how they could do the duty of true *English-men*, and good *Liege-men*, except they did deliver the King from such wicked Ones that would destroy both Him and the Countrey. Their aim was at Archbishop *Morton*, and Sir *Reginald Bray*, who were the King's *Skreens* in this Envy.

After that these two, *Flammoche* and the Black-smith, had, by joynt

joynt and several *Pratings*, found tokens of consent in the *Multitude*, they offered themselves to lead them, until they should hear of better men, to be their *Leaders*; which they said would be ere long: Telling them further, that they would be but their servants, and first in every danger, but doubted not but to make both the West-end and East-end of *England* to meet in so good a *Quarrel*; and that all (rightly understood) was but for the King's service. The *People*, upon these seditious *Infigations*, did arm (most of them with *Bows*, and *Arrows*, and *Bills*, and such other Weapons of rude and Countrey People) and forthwith under the *Command* of their *Leaders* (which in such cases is ever at pleasure) marched out of *Cornwal*, through *Devonshire*, unto *Taunton* in *Somersetshire*, without any slaughter, violence, or spoil of the Countrey. At *Taunton* they killed, in fury, an officious and eager *Commissioner* for the *Subsidie*, whom they called the *Provost* of *Perin*. Thence they marched to *Wells*: where the Lord *Audley* (with whom their *Leaders* had, before, some secret *Intelligence*) a Noble-man of an ancient *Family*, but unquiet and popular, and aspiring to Ruine, came-in to them, and was by them (with great gladness and cries of Joy) accepted as their *General*; they being now proud, that they were led by a *Noble-man*. The Lord *Audley* led them on from *Wells* to *Salisbury*, and from *Salisbury* to *Winchester*. Thence the foolish people, who (in effect) led their *Leaders*, had a mind to be led into *Kent*; fancying, that the people there would joyn with them, contrary to all reason or judgment; considering, the *Kentish-men* had shewed great Loyalty and Affection to the King so lately before. But the rude People had heard *Flammock* say, that *Kent was never Conquered*, and that they were the freest People of *England*. And, upon these vain Noises, they looked for great matters at their hands, in a cause which they conceited to be for the liberty of the *Subject*. But when they were come into *Kent*, the Countrey was so well settled, both by the King's late kind usage towards them, and by the credit and power of the Earl of *Kent*, the Lord *Abergaveny*, and the Lord *Cobham*, as neither *Gentleman* nor *Yeoman* came-in to their aid; which did much damp and dismay many of the simpler sort: Infomuch, as divers of them did secretly flie from the *Army*, and went home. But the sturdier sort, and those that were most engaged, stood by it, and rather waxed *Proud*, than failed in *Hopes* and *Courage*. For as it did somewhat appall them, that the people came not in to them; so it did no less encourage them, that the King's *Forces* had not set upon them, having marched from the West unto the East of *England*. Wherefore they kept on their way, and encamped upon *Black-heath*, between *Greenwich* and *Eltham*; threatening either to bid *Battel* to the King, (for now the Seas went higher than to *Morton*, and *Bray*) or to take *London* within his view, imagining with themselves, there to find no less *Fear*, than *Wealth*.

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But to return to the King. When first he heard of this *Com-motion* of the *Cornish-men* occasioned by the *Subsidie*, he was much troubled therewith: Not for it self, but in regard of the Concurrency of other *Dangers*, that did hang over him at that time. For he doubted lest a *War* from *Scotland*, a *Rebellion* from *Cornwal*, and the *Practices* and *Conspiracies* of *Perkin* and his Partakers, would come upon him at once; Knowing well, that it was a dangerous *Triplicity* to a *Monarchy*, to have the *Arms* of a *Foreiner*, the *Discontents* of *Subjects*, and the *Title* of a *Pretender*, to meet. Nevertheless, the *Occasion* took him in some part well provided. For as soon as the *Parliament* had broken up, the King had presently raised a puissant Army, to war upon *Scotland*. And King *James* of *Scotland* likewise, on his part, had made great preparations either for defence, or for new assailing of *England*. But as for the King's Forces, they were not only in preparation, but in readiness presently to set forth, under the Conduct of *Dawbeney*, the Lord Chamberlain. But as soon as the King understood of the Rebellion of *Cornwal*, he stayed those Forces, retaining them for his own service and safety. But therewithal he dispatched the Earl of *Surrey* into the North, for the defence and strength of those parts, in case the *Scots* should stir. But for the course he held towards the *Rebels*, it was utterly differing from his former custom, and practice; which was ever full of forwardness and celerity, to make head against them, or to set upon them as soon as ever they were in Action. This he was wont to do. But now, besides that he was attempered by *Years*, and less in love with *Dangers*, by the continued Fruition of a *Crown*; it was a time when the various appearance to his Thoughts of *Perils* of several *Natures*, and from divers *Parts*, did make him judge it his best and surest way, to keep his Strength together, in the Seat and Centre of his Kingdom. According to the ancient *Indian Emblem*; in such a swelling Season, *To hold the hand upon the middle of the Bladder, that no side might rise*. Besides, there was no necessity put upon him, to alter this Counsel. For neither did the *Rebels* spoil the *Countrey*; in which case it had been dishonour to abandon his *People*: Neither on the other side, did their Forces gather or increase, which might hasten him to precipitate and assail them, before they grew too strong. And lastly, both *Reason* of *Estate* and *War* seemed to agree with this course; For that *Insurrections* of base *People* are commonly more furious in their Beginnings. And by this means also he had them the more at *Vantage*, being tired and harrassed with a long march; and more at *Mercy*, being cut off far from their *Countrey*, and therefore not able by any sudden flight to get to *Retrait*, and to renew the *Troubles*.

When therefore the *Rebels* were encamped on *Black-heath*, upon the Hill, whence they might behold the City of *London*, and the fair Valley about it: the King knowing well, that it stood him upon,

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by how much the more he had hitherto protracted the time in not encountering them, by so much the sooner to dispatch with them, that it might appear to have been no *Coldness* in fore-slowing, but *wisdom* in choosing his time; resolved with all speed to assail them; and yet with that Providence, and Surety; as should leave little to *Venture* or *Fortune*. And having very great and puissant Forces about him, the better to master all *Events* and *Accidents*; he divided them into three parts. The first was led by the Earl of *Oxford* in chief, assisted by the Earls of *Essex* and *Sussex*. These Noble-men were appointed, with some *Cornets* of *Horse*, and *Bands* of *Foot*, and good store of *Artillery* wheeling about to put themselves beyond the Hill; where the *Rebels* were encamped; and to beset all the skirts and descents thereof; except those that lay towards *London*; whereby to have these *wild Beasts* (as it were) in a *Toyl*. The second part of his Forces (which were those that were to be most in *Action*, and upon which he relied most for the *Fortune* of the *Day*) he did assign to be led by the Lord *Chamberlain*, who was appointed to set upon the *Rebels* in Front; from that side which is toward *London*. The third part of his Forces (being likewise great and brave Forces) he retained about himself, to be ready, upon all *Events*, to restore the *Fight*, or consummate the *Victory*; and mean while, to secure the *City*. And for that purpose he encamped in Person in *St. George's Fields*, putting himself between the *City* and the *Rebels*. But the *City* of *London* (specially at the first) upon the near encamping of the *Rebels*, was in great Tumult: As it useth to be with wealthy and populous *Cities*, (especially those, which, for greatness and fortune, are *Queens* of their *Regions*) who seldom see out of their *Windows*, or from their *Towers*, an *Army* of *Enemies*. But that which troubled them most, was the conceit, that they dealt with a *Rent* of *People*, with whom there was no *Composition*, or *Condition*, or orderly *Treating*, if need were; but likely to be bent altogether upon *Rapine* and *Spoil*. And although they had heard that the *Rebels* had behaved themselves quietly and modestly, by the way as they went; yet they doubted much, that would not last, but rather make them more hungry, and more in appetite, to fall upon *spoil* in the end. Wherefore there was great running to and fro of *People*, some to the *Gates*, some to the *Walls*, some to the *Water-side*; giving themselves *Alarms*, and *Panick fears* continually. Nevertheless, both *Tate* the Lord Mayor, and *Shaw*, and *Haddon*, the Sheriffs, did their parts stoutly and well, in arming and ordering the *People*. And the King likewise did adjoyn some *Captains* of experience in the Wars, to advise and assist the *Citizens*. But soon after, when they understood that the King had so ordered the matter, that the *Rebels* must win three *Battels*, before they could approach the *City*, and that he had put his own Person between the *Rebels* and them, and that the great care was rather

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how to impound the *Rebels*, that none of them might escape; than that any doubt was made to vanquish them; they grew to be quiet and out of fear. The rather, for the confidence they reposed (which was not small) in the three Leaders, *Oxford*, *Essex*, and *Dawbeney*; all, men famed and loved amongst the People. As for *Jasper* Duke of *Bedford*, whom the King used to employ with the first in his Wars; he was then sick, and dyed soon after.

It was the two and twentieth of *June*, and a Saturday (which was the day of the week the King fancied) when the *Battel* was fought; though the King had, by all the Art he could devise, given out a false Day, as if he prepared to give the *Rebels* *Battel* on the Monday following; the better to find them unprovided, and in disarray. The *Lords*, that were appointed to circle the Hill; had some days before planted themselves (as at the Receipt) in places convenient. In the afternoon, towards the decline of the day, (which was done, the better to keep the *Rebels* in opinion that they should not fight that day) the Lord *Dawbeney* marched on, towards them, and first beat some Troops of them from *Detford-bridge*; where they fought manfully: But being in no great number were soon driven back, and fled up to their main *Army* upon the Hill. The *Army*, at that time hearing of the approach of the King's Forces; were putting themselves in Array, not without much Confusion. But neither had they placed upon the first high-ground towards the *Bridge*, any Forces to second the Troops below, that kept the *Bridge*; neither had they brought forwards their Main-Battel (which stood in array far into the *Heath*) near to the ascent of the Hill. So that the Earl with his Forces mounted the Hill, and recovered the Plain, without resistance. The Lord *Dawbeney* charged them with great fury; Infomuch, as it had like (by accident) to have brandled the Fortune of the Day. For, by inconsiderate Forwardness in fighting in the head of his Troops, he was taken by the *Rebels*; but, immediately rescued, and delivered. The *Rebels* maintained the Fight for a small time, and for their Persons shewed no want of courage: but being ill armed, and ill led, and without *Horse* or *Artillery*, they were with no great difficulty cut in pieces, and put to flight. And for their three Leaders; the Lord *Audley*, the Black-smith, and *Flammocke*, (as, commonly the Captains of *Commutations* are but *half-couraged Men*) suffered themselves to be taken alive. The number slain on the *Rebels* part, were some two thousand men; their *Army* amounting (as it is said) unto the number of sixteen thousand. The rest were (in effect) all taken; for that the Hill, as was said, was encompassed with the King's Forces round about. On the King's part there dyed about three hundred; most of them shot with Arrows, which were reported to be of the length of a *Taylor's-yard*: So strong and mighty a Bow the *Cornish-men* were said to draw.

The *Victory* thus obtained, the King created divers *Bannerets*, as well upon *Black-heath*, where his *Lieutenant* had won the *Field* (whither he rode in Person to perform the said *Creation*) as in *St. George's Fields*, where his own person had been encamped. And for matter of *Liberality*, he did (by open *Edict*) give the goods of all the *Prisoners*, unto those that had taken them; either to take them in Kind, or compound for them as they could. After matter of *Honour* and *Liberality*, followed matter of *Severity* and *Execution*. The Lord *Audley* was led from *Newgate* to *Tower-hill*, in a Paper-Coat painted with his own *Arms*; the *Arms* reversed, the Coat torn, and he at *Tower-hill* beheaded. *Flammocke*, and the *Black-smith* were hanged, drawn, and quartered at *Tyburn*; The *Black-smith* taking pleasure upon the *Hurdle* (as it seemeth by words that he uttered) to think that he should be famous in after-times. The King was once in mind to have sent down *Flammocke*, and the *Black-smith*, to have been executed in *Cornwal*, for the more terrour. But, being advertised, that the Countrey was yet unquiet and boyling, he thought better not to irritate the People further. All the rest were pardoned by *Proclamation*, and to take out their Pardons under Seal, as many as would. So that, more than the blood drawn in the Field, the King did satisfie himself with the lives of only three Offenders, for the expiation of this great *Rebellion*.

It was a strange thing, to observe the variety and inequality of the King's *Executions* and *Pardons*. And a man would think it, at the first, a kind of *Lottery* or *Chance*. But, looking into it more nearly, one shall find there was reason for it, much more perhaps than (after so long a distance of time) we can now discern. In the *Kentish Commotion* (which was but an handful of men) there were executed to the number of one hundred and fifty; and, in this so mighty a *Rebellion*, but three: Whether it were, that the King put to accompt the men that were slain in the field; or that he was not willing to be severe in a popular cause; or that the harmless behaviour of this People (that came from the West of *England*, to the East, without mischief almost, or spoil of the Countrey) did somewhat mollifie him, and move him to compassion; or lastly, that he made a great difference between People, that did rebel upon *wantonness*, and them that did rebel upon *want*.

After the *Cornish-men* were defeated, there came from *Calice* to the King, an honourable Ambassage from the *French King*, which had arrived at *Calice* a Month before, and there was stayed in respect of the troubles; but honourably entertained and defrayed.

The King, at their first coming, sent unto them, and prayed them to have patience, till a little *Smock*, that was raised in his Countrey, were over, which would soon be: Slighting (as his manner was) that openly, which nevertheless he intended seriously.

This Ambassage concerned no great Affair; but only the *Prolongation* of Days for payment of Moneys, and some other Particulars of the *Frontiers*. And it was (indeed) but a wooing Ambassage; with good respects to entertain the King in good affection: but nothing was done, or handled, to the derogation of the King's late Treaty with the *Italians*.

But, during the time that the *Cornish-men* were in their march towards *London*, the King of *Scotland* (well advertised of all that passed, and knowing himself sure of War from *England*, whensoever those Stirs were appeased) neglected not his opportunity; But, thinking the King had his hands full, entred the Frontiers of *England* again with an Army, and besieged the Castle of *Norham* in Person, with part of his Forces, sending the rest to forrage the Countrey. But *Fox*, Bishop of *Duresm* (a wise man, and one that could see through the *Present*, to the *Future*) doubting as much before, had caused his Castle of *Norham* to be strongly fortified, and furnished, with all kind of *Munition*: And had manned it likewise, with a very great number of tall *Soldiers*, more than for the proportion of the Castle; reckoning rather upon a sharp *Assault*, than a long *Siege*. And for the Countrey likewise, he had caused the people withdraw their Cattel and Goods into *Fast Places*, that were not of easie approach; and sent in post to the Earl of *Surrey* (who was not far off, in *Yorkshire*) to come in diligence to the Succour. So as the *Scottish* King both failed of doing good upon the Castle, and his men had but a catching Harvest of their Spoils. And when he understood, that the Earl of *Surrey* was coming on with great Forces, he returned back into *Scotland*. The Earl finding the Castle freed, and the Enemy retired, pursued with all celerity into *Scotland*; hoping to have overtaken the *Scottish* King, and to have given him Battel; But not attaining him in time, sat down before the Castle of *Aton* (one of the strongest places, then esteemed, between *Berwick* and *Edenburgh*) which in a small time he took. And soon after, the *Scottish* King retiring further into his Countrey, and the weather being extraordinary foul and stormy, the Earl returned into *England*. So that the *Expeditions* on both parts were (in effect) but a Castle taken, and a Castle distressed; not answerable to the puissance of the Forces, nor to the heat of the *Quarrel*, nor to the greatness of the *Expectation*.

Amongst these Troubles, both Civil and External, came into *England* from *Spain* *Peter Hialas*, some call him *Elias*, (surely he was the fore-runner of the good *Hap*, that we enjoy at this day. For his Ambassage set the Truce between *England* and *Scotland*; the Truce drew on the Peace; the Peace the Marriage; and the Marriage the Union of the Kingdoms) a man of great Wisdom, and (as those times were) not unlearned; sent from *Ferdinando* and *Isabella* Kings of *Spain* unto the King, to treat a Marriage between
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Catherine their second Daughter, and Prince *Arthur*. This *Treaty* was by him set in a very good way, and almost brought to perfection. But it so fell out by the way, that upon some *Conference* which he had with the King touching this business, the King (who had a great dexterity in getting suddenly into the bosom of Ambassadors of foreign Princes, if he liked the men; Inasmuch as he would many times communicate with them of his own affairs, yea and employ them in his service) fell into speech and discourse incidently, concerning the ending the *Debates* and differences with *Scotland*. For the King naturally did not love the barren Wars with *Scotland*, though he made his profit of the Noise of them. And he wanted not in the *Council* of *Scotland* those that would advise their King to meet him at the half-way, and to give over the War with *England*; pretending to be good *Patriots*, but indeed favouring the affairs of the King. Only his heart was too great to begin with *Scotland* for the motion of Peace. On the other side, he had met with an Allie of *Ferdinando* of *Arragon*, as fit for his turn as could be. For after that King *Ferdinando* had, upon assured confidence of the *Marriage* to succeed, taken upon him the person of a Fraternal Allie to the King, he would not let (in a *Spanish* gravity) to counsel the King in his own affairs. And the King on his part not being wanting to himself, but making use of every man's humours, made his advantage of this in such things as he thought either not decent, or not pleasant to proceed from himself; putting them off, as done by the Counsel of *Ferdinando*. Wherefore he was content that *Hialas* (as in a matter moved and advised from *Hialas* himself) should go into *Scotland*, to treat of a *Concord* between the two Kings. *Hialas* took it upon him: and coming to the *Scottish* King, after he had with much Art brought King *James* to hearken to the more safe and quiet Counsels, wrote unto the King, that he hoped that *Peace* would with no great difficulty cement and close, if he would send some wise and temperate *Counsellor* of his own, that might treat of the *Conditions*. Whereupon the King directed Bishop *Fox* (who at that time was at his Castle of *Norham*) to confer with *Hialas*, and they both to treat with some *Commissioners*, deputed from the *Scottish* King. The *Commissioners* on both sides met. But after much dispute upon the *Articles* and *Conditions* of *Peace*, propounded upon either part, they could not conclude a *Peace*. The chief *Impediments* thereof was the demand of the King, to have *Perkin* delivered into his hands, as a reproach to all Kings, and a person not protected by the *Law* of *Nations*. The King of *Scotland*, on the other side, peremptorily denied so to do; saying, That he (for his part) was no competent Judge of *Perkin's* Title: But that he had received him as a *Suppliant*, protected him as a person fled for *Refuge*, espoused him with his *Kinswoman*, and aided him with his *Arms*, upon the belief that he was a *Prince*; And therefore that he could

not now with his Honour so unrip, and (in a sort) put a *Lye* upon all that he had said and done before, as to deliver him up to his Enemies. The Bishop likewise (who had certain proud instructions from the King, at the least in the *Front*, though there were a pliant clause at the *Foot*, that remitted all to the Bishop's discretion, and required him by no means to break off in ill terms) after that he had failed to obtain the delivery of *Perkin*, did move a second point of his *Instructions*; which was, that the *Scottish* King would give the King an *Enterview* in Person at *Newcastle*. But this being reported to the *Scottish* King, his answer was, *That he meant to treat a Peace, and not to go a begging for it.* The Bishop also (according to another Article of his *Instructions*) demanded *Restitution* of the Spoils taken by the *Scottish*, or *Damages* for the same. But the *Scottish Commissioners* answered; *That that was but as water spilt upon the ground, which could not be gotten up again; and that the King's People were better able to bear the loss, than their Master to repair it.* But in the end (as persons capable of Reason) on both sides they made a kind of *Recess*, than a *Breach of Treaty*, and concluded upon a *Truce* for some Months following. But the King of *Scotland*, though he would not formally retract his judgement of *Perkin*, wherein he had engaged himself so far; yet in his private opinion, upon often speech with the *English-men*, and divers other advertisements, began to suspect him for a *Counterfeit*. Wherefore in a Noble fashion he called him unto him, and recounted the benefits and favours that he had done him, in making him his *Allie*, and in provoking a Mighty and Opulent King by an *Offensive war* in his *Quarrel*, for the space of two years together. Nay more; that he had refused an Honourable *Peace*, whereof he had a fair Offer, if he would have delivered him; and that to keep his promise with him, he had deeply offended both his *Nobles* and *People*, whom he might not hold in any long discontent. And therefore required him to think of his own *Fortunes*, and to choose out some fitter place for his *Exile*: Telling him withal, that he could not say, but the *English* had forsaken him before the *Scottish*, for that upon two several Tryals, none had declared themselves on his side. But nevertheless he would make good what he said to him at his first receiving, which was, *That he should not repent him, for putting himself into his hands.*; For that he would not cast him off, but help him with Shipping and means, to transport him where he should desire. *Perkin*, not descending at all from his *Stage-like Greatness*, answered the King in few words; *That he saw his time was not yet come; But whatsoever his Fortunes were, he should both think and speak Honour of the King.* Taking his leave, he would not think on *Flanders*, doubting it was but hollow ground for him, since the *Treaty* of the Arch-Duke concluded the year before; but took his *Lady*, and such followers as would not leave him, and sailed over into *Ireland*.

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This Twelfth year of the King, a little before this time, Pope *Alexander* (who loved best those Princes that were furthest off, and with whom he had least to do) taking very thankfully the King's late entrance into *League*, for the defence of *Italy*, did remunerate him with an *Hallowed Sword*, and *Cap-of-Maintenance* sent by his *Nuncio*. Pope *Innocent* had done the like, but it was not received in that *Glory*. For the King appointed the *Mayor* and his *Brethren* to meet the Pope's *Orator* at *London-Bridge*, and all the Streets between the *Bridge-foot* and the Palace of *St. Pauls* (where the King then lay) were garnished with the Citizens, standing in their *Liveries*. And the morrow after (being *All-hallows day*) the King, attended with many of his *Prelates*, *Nobles*, and principal *Courtiers*, went in *Procession* to *St. Pauls*, and the *Cap* and *Sword* were born before him. And after the *Procession*, the King himself remaining seated in the *Choir*, the Lord Archbishop upon the greece of the *Choir*, made a long *Oration*, setting forth the greatness and *Eminency* of that *Honour*, which the Pope (in these Ornaments and Ensigns of *Benediction*) had done the King, and how rarely, and upon what high deserts they used to be bestowed. And then recited the Kings principal *Acts* and *Merits*, which had made him appear worthy in the eyes of his Holiness of this great *Honour*.

All this while the *Rebellion* of *Cornwal* (whereof we have spoken) seemed to have no relation to *Perkin*; save that perhaps *Perkin's* *Proclamation* had stricken upon the right Vein, in promising to lay down *Exactions* and *Payments*, and so had made them now and then have a kind thought on *Perkin*. But now these *Bubbles* by much stirring began to meet, as they use to do upon the top of *water*. The King's lenity (by that time the *Cornish* Rebels; who were taken and pardoned, and (as it was said) many of them sold by them that had taken them, for twelve pence and two shillings a piece, were come down into their Countrey) had rather imboldened them, than reclaimed them: Insomuch, as they stuck not to say to their Neighbours and Countrey-men, that *The King did well to pardon them, for that he knew he should leave few Subjects in England, if he hanged all that were of their mind*: And began whetting and inciting one another to renew the *Commotion*. Some of the subtlest of them, hearing of *Perkin's* being in *Ireland*, found means to send to him, to let him know, that if he would come over to them, they would serve him.

When *Perkin* heard this News, he began to take heart again, and advised upon it with his *Council*, which were principally three; *Herne* a Mercer, that had fled for Debt; *Skelton* a Taylor, and *Astley* a Scrivener: for Secretary *Frion* was gone. These told him, that he was mightily overseen, both when he went into *Kent*, and when he went into *Scotland*. The one being a place so near *London*, and under the King's Nose; and the other a Nation so distasted with the People of *England*, that if they had loved him
never

never so well, yet they could never have taken his part in that Company. But if he had been so happy, as to have been in *Cornwal* at the first, when the People began to take *Arms* there, he had been crowned at *Westminster* before this time. For, these Kings (as he had now experience) would sell poor *Princes* for shoes: But he must rely wholly upon *People*; and therefore advised him to sail over with all possible speed into *Cornwal*. Which, accordingly he did; having in his Company four small *Barques*, with some six score or seven score fighting men. He arrived in *September* at *Hitsand-Bay*; and forthwith came to *Bodmin*, the *Black-Smith's* Town: Where there assembled unto him to the number of three thousand men of the rude People. There he set forth a new *Proclamation*, stroaking the People with fair Promises, and humouring them with *Invectives* against the King and his Government. And, as it fareth with *Smoak*, that never loseth it self till it be at the highest; he did now before his end raise his Stile, intituling himself no more *Richard*, Duke of *York*; but *Richard* the Fourth, King of *England*. His *Council* advised him, by all means, to make himself *Master* of some good walled Town; as well to make his Men find the sweetness of rich *Spoils*, and to allure to him all loose and lost *People*, by like hopes of *Booty*; as to be a sure *Retrait* to his *Forces*, in case they should have any ill *Day*, or unlucky *Chance* in the *Field*. Wherefore they took heart to them, and went on, and besieged the City of *Exceter*, the principal Town for Strength and Wealth in those Parts.

When they were come before *Exceter*; they forbore to use any Force at the first; but made continual *Shouts* and *Out-cries*, to terrifie the *Inhabitants*. They did likewise in divers places call and talk to them from under the Walls, to joyn with them, and be of their *Party*; telling them, that the King would make them another *London*, if they would be the first Town that should acknowledge him. But they had not the wit to send to them, in any orderly fashion, *Agents*, or *chosen Men*, to tempt them, and to treat with them. The Citizens on their part shewed themselves stout and loyal Subjects. Neither was there so much as any *Tumult* or *Division* amongst them: but all prepared themselves for a valiant *Defence*, and making good the Town. For, well they saw, that the *Rebels* were of no such Number or Power, that they needed to fear them as yet: and well they hoped, that before their *Numbers* increased, the King's *Succours* would come in. And, howsoever, they thought it the extremest of Evils, to put themselves at the mercy of those hungry and disorderly People. Wherefore, setting all things in good order within the Town, they nevertheless let down with Cords, from several parts of the Walls privily, several *Messengers* (that, if one came to mischance, another might pass-on) which should advertise the King of the State of the Town, and implore his ayd. *Perkin* also doubted, that *Succours* would

would come ere long ; and therefore resolved to use his utmost Force to assault the *Town*: And for that purpose, having mounted *Scaling-Ladders* in divers places upon the Walls, made at the same instant an *Attempt* to force one of the *Gates*. But, having no *Artillery* nor *Engins*, and finding that he could do no good by ramming with Logs of *Timber*, nor by the use of *Iron Bars* and *Iron Crows*, and such other means at hand, he had no way left him, but to set one of the *Gates* on fire: which he did. But the *Citizens*, well perceiving the Danger, before the *Gate* could be fully consumed, blocked up the *Gate*, and some space about it on the inside, with Fagots and other Fuel: which they likewise set on fire, and so repulled fire with fire; And, in the mean time, raised up *Rampiers* of earth, and cast up deep *Trenches*, to serve instead of *Wall* and *Gate*. And for the *Escalada's*, they had so bad success, as the *Rebels* were driven from the *Walls*, with the loss of two hundred men.

The King, when he heard of *Perkin's* Siege of *Exceter*, made sport with it, and said to them that were about him, that *The King of Rake-hells* was landed in the west, and that he hoped now to have the honour to see him, which he could never yet do. And it appeared plainly to those that were about the King, that he was indeed much joyed with the News of *Perkin's* being on *English* ground, where he could have no retreat by Land; thinking now, that he should be cured of those privy *Stitches*, which he had long had about his *Heart*; and had sometimes broken his *Sleeps* in the midst of all his felicity. And, to set all mens hearts on fire, he did by all possible means let it appear, that those, who should now do him service to make an end of these troubles, should be no less accepted of him, than he that came upon the *Eleventh Hour*, and had the whole *Wages* of the *Day*. Therefore now (like the end of a *Play*) a great number came upon the *Stage* at once. He sent the Lord Chamberlain, and the Lord *Brook*, and Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, with expedite Forces to speed to *Exceter*, to the Rescue of the *Town*, and to spread the Fame of his own following in Person with a *Royal Army*. The Earl of *Devonshire*, and his Son, with the *Caroes*, and the *Fulfords*, and other principal Persons of *Devonshire* (uncalled from the *Court*, but hearing that the King's heart was so much bent upon this Service) made haste with *Troops*, that they had raised, to be the first that should succour the City of *Exceter*, and prevent the King's Succours. The Duke of *Buckingham* likewise, with many brave Gentlemen, put themselves in *Arms*, not staying either the King's, or the Lord Chamberlain's coming on, but making a Body of Forces of themselves, the more to indear their merit, signifying to the King their readiness, and desiring to know his pleasure. So that according to the Proverb, *In the coming down, every Saint did help*.

Perkin, hearing this Thunder of *Arms*, and Preparations against him from so many Parts, raised his Siege, and marched

to

to *Taunton*; beginning already to squint one eye upon the *Crown*, and another upon the *Sanctuary*: Though the *Cornish-men* were become, like Metal often fired and quenched, churlish; and that would sooner break than bow; swearing and vowing not to leave him, till the uttermost drop of their blood were spilt. He was at his rising from *Exceter* between six and seven thousand strong, many having come unto him, after he was set before *Exceter*, upon fame of so great an Enterprize, and to partake of the Spoil; though upon the raising of his *Siege*, some did slip away. When he was come near *Taunton*, he dissembled all fear, and seemed all the day to use diligence in preparing all things ready to fight. But about midnight, he fled with threescore Horse to *Bewley* in the *New-Forest*; where he and divers of his Company registred themselves *Sanctuary-men*, leaving his *Cornish-men* to the *Four Winds*; But yet thereby easing them of their *Vow*, and using his wonted Compassion, *Not to be by when his Subjects blood should be spilt*. The King, as soon as he heard of *Perkin's* Flight, sent presently five hundred Horse to pursue and apprehend him, before he should get either to the *Sea*, or to that same little *Island*, called a *Sanctuary*. But they came too late for the latter of these. Therefore all they could do, was to beset the *Sanctuary*, and to maintain a strong *watch* about it, till the King's pleasure were further known. As for the rest of the *Rebels*, they (being destituted of their head) without stroke stricken, submitted themselves unto the King's Mercy. And the King, who commonly drew Blood (as *Physicians* do) rather to save life, than to spill it, and was never *Cruel*, when he was *Secure*; now he saw the danger was past, pardoned them all in the end, except some few desperate persons which he reserved to be Executed, the better to set off his Mercy towards the rest. There were also sent with all speed some Horse to *St. Michael's-Mount* in *Cornwal*, where the Lady *Catherine Gordon* was left by her Husband, whom in all fortunes she entirely loved; adding the virtues of a *wife*, to the virtues of her *Sex*. The King sent in the greater diligence, not knowing whether she might be with Child; whereby the business would not have ended in *Perkin's* person. When she was brought to the King, it was commonly said, that the King received her not only with *Compassion*, but with *Affection*; *Pity* giving more *Impression* to her excellent *Beauty*. Wherefore comforting her (to serve as well his *Eye* as his *Fame*) he sent her to his Queen, to remain with her; giving her very honourable *Allowance* for the support of her Estate: which she enjoyed both during the King's life, and many years after. The name of the *white-Rose* (which had been given to her Husband's *False-Title*) was continued in common speech to her true *Beauty*.

The King went forward on his Journey, and made a joyful entrance into *Exceter*, where he gave the Citizens great commendations and thanks; and taking the *Sword* he wore, from his
side,

side, he gave it to the *Mayor*, and commanded it should be ever after carried before him. There also he caused to be executed some of the *Ring-leaders* of the *Cornish-men*, in sacrifice to the Citizens, whom they had put in fear, and trouble. At *Excester* the King consulted with his *Council*, whether he should offer life to *Perkin*, if he would quit the *Sanctuary*, and voluntarily submit himself. The *Council* were divided in opinion. Some advised the King to take him out of *Sanctuary* per-force, and to put him to death, as in a case of *Necessity*, which in it self dispenseth with *Consecrated Places* and things. Wherein they doubted not also, but the King should find the Pope tractable to ratifie his *Deed*, either by *Declaration*, or (at least) by *Indulgence*. Others were of opinion (since all was now safe, and no further hurt could be done) that it was not worth the exposing of the King to new *Scandal* and *Envy*. A third sort fell upon the opinion that it was not possible for the King ever, either to satisfie the World well touching the *Imposture*, or to learn out the bottom of the *Conspiracy*, except by promise of *Life* and *Pardon*, and other fair means, he should get *Perkin* into his hands. But they did all in their *Preambles* much bemoan the King's Case, with a kind of *Indignation* at his *Fortune*; That a *Prince* of his high *Wisdom* and *Virtue*, should have been so long, and so oft exercised and vexed with *Idols*. But the King said; that it was the *Vexation* of God Almighty himself, to be vexed with *Idols*, and therefore that that was not to trouble any of his Friends. And that for himself, he always despised them; but was grieved that they had put his *People* to such trouble and misery. But (in Concussion) he leaned to the third opinion, and so sent some to deal with *Perkin*. Who seeing himself Prisoner, and destitute of all hopes, having tryed *Princes* and *People*, Great and Small, and found all either false, faint or unfortunate, did gladly accept of the Condition. The King did also (while he was at *Excester*) appoint the Lord *Darcy*, and others, *Commissioners*, for the fining of all such, as were of any value, or had any hand or partaking in the ayd or comfort of *Perkin* or the *Cornish-men*, either in the *Field* or in the *Flight*.

These *Commissioners* proceeded with such strictness and severity, as did much obscure the King's mercy in sparing of Blood, with the bleeding of so much Treasure. *Perkin* was brought unto the King's Court, but not to the King's presence; though the King (to satisfie his *Curiosity*) saw him sometimes out of a window, or in passage. He was in shew at liberty, but guarded with all care and watch that was possible, and willed to follow the King to *London*. But from his first appearance upon the *Stage*, in his new person of a *Sycophant* or *Jugler*, instead of his former person of a *Prince*, all men may think how he was exposed to the derision, not only of the *Courtiers*, but also of the *Common-People* who flocked about him as he went along; that one might know a-far-off, where the *Owl* was by the *Flight* of *Birds*. Some mocking, some wondering, some

curling, some prying and picking matter out of his Countenance and Gesture, to talk of. So that the false *Honour* and *Respects* which he had so long enjoyed, was plentifully repayed in *Scorn* and *Contempt*. As soon as he was come to *London*, the King gave also the City the solace of this *May-Game*. For he was conveyed leisurely on Horse-back (but not in any ignominious fashion) through *Cheapside*, and *Cornwal*, to the *Tower*; and from thence back again unto *Westminster*, with the *Churm* of a thousand taunts and reproaches. But to amend the *Show*, there followed a little distance of *Perkin*, an inward Counsellor of his, one that had been *Serjeant-Farrier* to the King. This Fellow when *Perkin* took *Sanctuary*, chose rather to take an *Holy Habit* than an *Holy Place*, and clad himself like an *Hermit*, and in that weed wandred about the Countrey, till he was discovered, and taken. But this Man was bound hand and foot upon the Horse, and came not back with *Perkin*, but was left at the *Tower*, and within few days after Executed. Soon after, now that *Perkin* could tell better what himself was, he was diligently examined; and after his *Confession* taken, an *Extract* was made of such parts of them as were thought fit to be divulged, which was Printed and dispersed abroad. Wherein the King did himself no Right. For as there was a laboured *Tale* of particulars, of *Perkin's* *Father*, and *Mother*, and *Grandfire*, and *Grandmother*, and *Uncles*, and *Cousins*, by *Names* and *Sirnames*, and from what places he travelled up and down; so there was little or nothing to purpose of any thing concerning his *Designs*, or any *Practices* that had been held with him; nor the *Duchess* of *Burgundy* her self (that all the World did take knowledge of, as the *Person* that had put *Life* and *Being* into the whole *Business*) so much as named or pointed at. So that men missing of that they looked for, looked about for they knew not what, and were in more doubt than before. But the King chose rather not to satisfy, than to kindle *Coals*. At that time also it did not appear by any new *Examinations* or *Commitments*, that any other Person of quality was discovered or appeached, though the King's closeness made that a *Doubt-Dormant*.

About this time, a great *Fire* in the night time suddenly began at the King's *Palace* of *Sheyn*, near unto the King's own Lodgings, whereby a great part of the building was consumed, with much costly Household-stuff, which gave the King occasion of Building from the ground that fine *Pile* of *Richmond*, which is now standing.

Somewhat before this time also, there fell out a memorable Accident. There was one *Sebastian Gabato*, a *Venetian*, dwelling in *Bristow*, a man seen and expert in *Cosmography* and *Navigation*. This man seeing the success, and emulating perhaps the enterprize of *Christopherus Columbus* in that fortunate discovery towards the *South-west*, which had been by him made some six years before; conceited with himself, that *Lands* might likewise be discovered
towards

towards the *North-west*. And surely it may be he had more firm and pregnant Conjectures of it, than *Columbus* had of this at the first. For the two great *Islands* of the *Old* and *New World*, being (in the shape and making of them) broad towards the *North*, and pointed towards the *South*; it is likely, that the discovery first began where the *Lands* did nearest meet. And there had been before that time a discovery of some *Lands*, which they took to be *Islands*, and were indeed the *Continent of America*, towards the *North-west*. And it may be, that some Relation of this nature coming afterwards to the knowledge of *Columbus*, and by him suppressed, (desirous rather to make his Enterprize the *Child* of his *Science* and *Fortune*, than the *Follower* of a former *Discovery*) did give him better assurance that all was not *Sea*, from the *West* of *Europe* and *Africk* unto *Asia*, than either *Seneca's* Prophecie, or *Plato's* Antiquities, or the Nature of the *Tides*, and *Land-winds*, and the like, which were the *Conjectures* that were given out, whereupon he should have relyed. Though I am not ignorant, that it was likewise laid unto the casual and *wind-beaten Discovery* (a little before) of a *Spanish Pilot*, who dyed in the house of *Columbus*. But this *Gabato* bearing the King in hand, that he would find out an *Island* endued with rich Commodities, procured him to man and victual a Ship at *Bristow*, for the discovery of that *Island*; With whom ventured also three small Ships of *London-Merchants*, fraught with some gross and sleight Wares, fit for Commerce with barbarous people. He sayled (as he affirmed at his return, and made a *Card* thereof) very far *westwards*, with a *Quarter* of the *North*, on the *North-side* of *Tierra de Labrador*, until he came to the *Latitude* of sixty seven Degrees and an half, finding the *Seas* still open. It is certain also; that the King's *Fortune* had a tender of that great *Empire* of the *West-Indies*. Neither was it a *Refusal* on the King's part, but a *Delay* by accident, that put by so great an *Acquest*. For *Christopherus Columbus* refused by the King of *Portugal* (who would not embrace at once both *East* and *West*) employed his Brother *Bartholomeus Columbus* unto King *Henry*, to negotiate for his *Discovery*. And it so fortun'd, that he was taken by *Pirates* at *Sea*, by which accidental impediment he was long ere he came to the King. So long, that before he had obtained a *Capitulation* with the King for his Brother, the Enterprize by him was atchieved, and so the *West-Indies* by *Providence* were then reserved for the *Crown* of *Castilia*. Yet this sharpened the King so, that not only in this Voyage, but again in the Sixteenth year of his Reign, and likewise in the Eighteenth thereof, he granted forth new *Commissions*, for the *Discovery* and investing of unknown *Lands*.

In this Fourteenth year also (by God's wonderful providence, that boweth things unto his will, and hangeth great *weights* upon small *wires*) there fell out a trifling and untoward Accident,

that drew on great and happy effects. During the Truce with *Scotland*, there were certain *Scottish young Gentleman*, that came into *Norham Town*, and there made merry with some of the *English* of the *Town*. And having little to do, went sometimes forth, and would stand looking upon the *Castle*. Some of the *Garrison* of the *Castle*, observing this their doing twice or thrice, and having not their minds purged of the late ill blood of *Hostility*, either suspected them, or quarrelled them for *Spies*. Whereupon they fell at ill words, and from words to Blows; so that many were wounded of either side, and the *Scottish-men* (being strangers in the *Town*) had the worst. In so much as some of them were slain, and the rest made haste home. The matter being complained on, and often debated before the *Wardens* of the *Marches* of both sides, and no good order taken, the King of *Scotland* took it to himself, and being much kindled, sent a *Herald* to the King to make Protestation, That if Reparation were not done, according to the Conditions of the *Truce*, his King did denounce *War*. The King (who had often tried *Fortune*, and was inclined to *Peace*) made answer; That what had been done, was utterly against his will, and without his *Privity*. But if the *Garrison-Souldiers* had been in fault, he would see them punished, and the *Truce* in all points to be preserved. But this answer seemed to the *Scottish King* but a delay, to make the complaint breathe out with time; and therefore it did rather exasperate him, than satisfy him. Bishop *Fox*, understanding from the King, that the *Scottish King* was still discontent and impatient, being troubled that the occasion of breaking of the *Truce* should grow from his men, sent many humble and deprecatory Letters to the *Scottish King* to appease him. Whereupon King *James*, mollified by the Bishop's submiss and eloquent Letters, wrote back unto him; That though he were in part moved by his Letters, yet he should not be fully satisfied, except he spake with him; as well about the compounding of the present differences, as about other matters that might concern the good of both Kingdoms. The Bishop advising first with the King, took his Journey for *Scotland*. The meeting was at *Melroß*, an Abbey of the *Cisterciens*, where the King then abode. The King first roundly uttered unto the Bishop his offence conceived for the insolent Breach of *Truce*, by his men of *Norham-Castle*. Whereunto Bishop *Fox* made such an humble and smooth answer, as it was like *Oyl* into the wound, whereby it began to heal. And this was done in the presence of the King and his *Council*. After, the King spake with the Bishop apart, and opened himself unto him, saying; That these temporary *Truces* and *Peaces* were soon made, and soon broken: But that he desired a straiter Amity with the King of *England*, discovering his mind; that if the King would give him in Marriage, the Lady *Margaret*, his eldest Daughter, That indeed might be a *Knot* indissoluble. That he knew well what Place and

and Authority the Bishop deservedly had with his Master. Therefore, if he would take the business to heart, and deal in it effectually, he doubted not but it would succeed well. The Bishop answered soberly, that he thought himself rather happy, than worthy, to be an instrument in such a matter; but would do his best endeavour. Wherefore the Bishop returning to the King, and giving account what had passed, and finding the King more than well disposed in it, gave the King advice; first to proceed to a Conclusion of *Peace*, and then to go on with the Treaty of *Marriage*, by degrees. Hereupon a *Peace* was concluded, which was published a little before *Christmas* in the Fourteenth year of the King's Reign to continue for both the Kings lives, and the over-liver of them, and a year after. In this *Peace* there was an *Article* contained, that no *English-man* should enter into *Scotland*, and no *Scottish-man* into *England*, without Letters Commendatory from the Kings of either *Nation*. This at the first sight might seem a means to continue a strangeness between the *Nations*; but it was done, to lock in the *Borderers*.

This year there was also born to the King a third *Son*; who was christned by the name of *Edmund*, and shortly after dyed. And much about the same time came news of the death of *Charles* the *French King*; For whom there were celebrated Solemn and Princely *Obsequies*.

It was not long, but *Perkin* (who was made of *Quick-silver*, which is hard to hold or imprison) began to stir. For deceiving his *Keepers*, he took him to his heels, and made speed to the *Sea-coasts*. But presently all Corners were laid for him, and such diligent pursuit and search made, as he was fain to turn back, and get him to the house of *Bethleem*, called the *Priory of Shyne*, (which had the privilege of a *Sanctuary*) and put himself into the hands of the *Prior* of that *Monastery*. The *Prior* was thought an *Holy Man*, and much revered in those days. He came to the King, and besought the King for *Perkin's* life only, leaving him otherwise to the Kings discretion. Many about the King were again more hot than ever, to have the King take him forth, and hang him. But the King (that had an high stomach, and could not hate any that he despised) bid, *Take him forth, and set the Knave in the Stocks*. And so promising the *Prior* his life, he caused him to be brought forth. And within two or three days after, upon a *Scaffold*, set up in the *Palace-Court* at *Westminster*, he was fettered and set in the *Stocks*, for the whole day. And the next day after, the like was done by him at the *Cross* in *Cheapside*; and in both places he read his *Confession*, of which we made mention before; and was from *Cheapside* conveyed and laid up in the *Tower*. Notwithstanding all this, the King was (as was partly touched before) grown to be such a *Partner* with *Fortune*, as no body could tell what *Actions* the one, and what the other owned. For it was believed

believed generally that *Perkin* was betrayed, and that this Escape was not without the King's privity, who had him all the time of his Flight in a Line; and that the King did this, to pick a Quarrel to him to put him to death, and to be rid of him at once. But this is not probable. For that the same *Instruments* who observed him in his Flight, might have kept him from getting into *Sanctuary*.

But it was ordained; that this *Winding-Ivy* of a *Plantagenet*, should kill the true *Tree* it self. For *Perkin*, after he had been a while in the *Tower*, began to insinuate himself into the favour and kindness of his *Keepers*, Servants to the *Lieutenant* of the *Tower*, Sir *John Digby*, being four in number; *Strangways*, *Blewet*, *Astwood*, and *Long-Roger*. These Varlets, with mountains of promises, he sought to corrupt, to obtain his *Escape*. But knowing well, that his own *Fortunes* were made so contemptible, as he could feed no man's *Hopes* (and by *Hopes* he must work, for *Rewards* he had none) he had contrived with himself a vast and tragical Plot; which was, to draw into his Company *Edward Plantagenet* Earl of *Warwick*, then Prisoner in the *Tower*; whom the weary life of a long *Imprisonment*, and the often and renewing Fears of being put to *Death*, had softened to take any impresson of counsel for his *Liberty*. This young *Prince* he thought these Servants would look upon, though not upon himself. And therefore after that by some *Message* by one or two of them, he had tasted of the Earl's consent; it was agreed that these four should murder their *Master* the *Lieutenant*, secretly in the night, and make their best of such Money and portable Goods of his, as they should find ready at hand, and get the Keys of the *Tower*; and presently let forth *Perkin* and the Earl. But this *Conspiracy* was revealed in time, before it could be executed. And in this again the Opinion of the King's great *Wisdom* did surcharge him with a sinister Fame, that *Perkin* was but his *Bait*, to entrap the Earl of *Warwick*. And in the very instant while this *Conspiracy* was in working (as if that also had been the King's industry) it was fatal, that there should break forth a counterfeit Earl of *Warwick*, a *Cordwainer's* Son, whose name was *Ralph Wilford*; a young man; taught and set on by an *Augustin-Frier*, called *Patrick*. They both from the parts of *Suffolk*, came forwards into *Kent*, where they did not only privily and underhand give out, that this *Wilford* was the true Earl of *Warwick*, but also the Frier finding some light Credence in the People, took the boldness in the *Pulpit* to declare as much, and to incite the People to come in to his ayd. Whereupon they were both presently apprehended, and the young fellow executed, and the Frier condemned to perpetual *Imprisonment*. This also hapning so opportunely, to represent the danger to the King's Estate, from the Earl of *Warwick*, and thereby to colour the King's severity that followed; together with the madness of the Frier, so vainly and

and desperately to divulge a *Treason*, before it had gotten any manner of strength; and the saving of the Frier's life, which nevertheless was (indeed) but the priviledge of his *Order*; and the *Pity* in the common People (which if it run in a strong Stream, doth ever cast up *Scandal* and *Envy*) made it generally rather talked, than believed, that all was but the King's device. But howsoever it were, hereupon *Perkin* (that had offended against Grace now the third time) was at the last proceeded with, and by *Commissioners* of *Oyer* and *Determiner*, arraigned at *Westminster*, upon divers *Treasons* committed and perpetrated after his coming on land within this Kingdom (for so the *Judges* advised, for that he was a *Foreiner*) and condemned, and a few days after executed at *Tyburn*. Where he did again openly read his *Confession*, and take it upon his *Death* to be true. This was the end of this little *Cockatrice* of a King, that was able to destroy those that did not espy him first. It was one of the longest *Plays* of that kind, that hath been in memory; and might perhaps have had another end, if he had not met with a King both wise, stout and fortunate.

As for *Perkin's* three *Counsellors*, they had registred themselves *Sanctuary-men* when their *Master* did. And whether upon Pardon obtained, or continuance within the *Priviledge*, they came not to be proceeded with.

There was executed with *Perkin* the *Mayor* of *Cork*, and his Son, who had been principal Abettors of his *Treasons*. And soon after were likewise condemned eight other Persons, about the *Tower-Conspiracy*, whereof four were the *Lieutenant's* men. But of those eight but two were executed. And immediately after was arraigned before the Earl of *Oxford* (then for the time *High-Steward* of *England*) the poor *Prince* the Earl of *Warwick*; not for the *Attempt* to escape simply (for that was not acted; And besides, the *Imprisonment* not being for *Treason*, the *Escape* by Law could not be *Treason*) but for conspiring with *Perkin* to raise sedition, and to destroy the King. And the Earl confessing the *Indictment* had *Judgment*, and was shortly after beheaded on *Tower-hill*.

This was also the end not only of this Noble and Commiserable person *Edward* the Earl of *Warwick*, eldest Son to the Duke of *Clarence*, but likewise of the Line-Male of the *Plantagenets*, which had flourished in great Royalty and Renown, from the time of the famous King of *England* King *Henry* the Second. Howbeit it was a *Race* often dipped in their own *Blood*. It hath remained since only transplanted into other *Names*, as well of the *Imperial-Line*, as of other *Noble Houses*. But it was neither guilt of *Crime*, nor reason of *Estate*, that could quench the *Envy* that was upon the King for this *Execution*. So that he thought good to export it out of the Land, and to lay it upon his new Allie *Ferdinando* King of *Spain*. For these two Kings understanding one another at half a word, so it was, that there were Letters shewed out of *Spain*, whereby

whereby in the passages concerning the Treaty of the *Marriage*, *Ferdinando* had written to the King in plain terms, that he saw no assurance of his *Succession*, as long as the Earl of *Warwick* lived; and that he was loth to send his *Daughter* to Troubles and Dangers. But hereby, as the King did in some part remove the Envy from himself; so he did not observe, that he did withal bring a kind of *Malediction* and Infausting upon the *Marriage*, as an ill *Prognestick*. Which in event so far proved true, as both Prince *Arthur* enjoyed a very small time after the *Marriage*, and the Lady *Katherine*, her self (a sad and a religious woman) long after, when King *Henry* the Eighth his resolution of a *Divorce* from her was first made known to her, used some words; *That she had not offended: but it was a Judgment of God, for that her former Marriage was made in blood*; meaning that of the Earl of *Warwick*.

This Fifteenth year of the King there was a great *Plague*, both in *London*, and in divers parts of the Kingdom. Wherefore the King after often change of *Places* (whether to avoid the danger of the *Sickness*; or to give occasion of an *Enterview* with the Arch-Duke, or both) sayled over with his Queen to *Calice*. Upon his coming thither, the Arch-Duke sent an honourable Ambassage unto him, as well to welcom him into those parts, as to let him know, that (if it pleased him) he would come and do him reverence. But it was said withal; That the King might be pleased to appoint some place, that were out of any walled *Town* or Fortrefe, for that he had denied the same upon like occasion to the *French* King. And though he said, he made a great difference between the two Kings, yet he would be loth to give a *President*, that might make it after to be expected at his hands; by another whom he trusted less. The King accepted of the Courtesie, and admitted of his Excuse, and appointed the place to be at *St. Peter's Church* without *Calice*. But withal he did visit the Arch-Duke with Ambassadors sent from himself, which were the Lord *Saint-John*, and the *Secretary*; unto whom the Arch-Duke did the honour, as (going to Mass at *St. Omers*) to set the Lord *Saint-John* on his right hand, and the *Secretary* on his left, and so to ride between them to Church. The day appointed for the *Enterview*, the King went on Horse-back some distance from *St. Peter's Church*, to receive the Arch-Duke. And upon their approaching, the Arch-Duke made hast to light, and offered to hold the King's *Stirrop* at his alighting; which the King would not permit, but descending from Horse-back, they embraced with great affection, and withdrawing into the Church to a place prepared, they had long *Conference*, not only upon the Confirmation of former *Treaties*, and the freeing of *Commerce*, but upon *Cross Marriages*, to be had between the Duke of *York* the King's second Son, and the Arch-Duke's Daughter; And again between *Charles* the Arch-Dukes Son and Heir, and *Mary* the King's second Daughter. But these

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these Blossoms of unripe Marriages, were but friendly wishes, and the *Airs* of loving Entertainment; though one of them came afterwards to Conclusion in Treaty, though not in Effect. But during the time that the two Princes conversed and commoned together in the Suburbs of Calice, the Demonstrations on both sides were passing hearty and affectionate, especially on the part of the Arch-Duke. Who (besides that he was a Prince of an excellent good nature) being conscious to himself, how drily the King had been used by his Council in the matter of *Perkin*, did strive by all means to recover it in the King's affection. And having also his ears continually beaten with the Counsels of his Father and Father-in-law, who (in respect of their jealous hatred against the French King) did always advise the Arch-Duke to anchor himself upon the Amity of King Henry of England; was glad upon this occasion, to put in ure and practice their precepts, calling the King Patron, and Father, and Protector, (these very words the King repeats; when he certified of the loving behaviour of the Arch-Duke to the City) and what else he could devise, to express his love and observance to the King. There came also to the King the Governour of Picardy, and the Bailiff of Amiens, sent from Lewis the French King to do him honour, and to give him knowledge of his victory and winning of the Duchy of Millan. It seemeth the King was well pleased with the honours he received from those parts, while he was at Calice. For he did himself certifye all the News and Occurrents of them in every particular, from Calice, to the Mayor and Aldermen of London, which (no doubt) made no small talk in the City. For the King, though he could not entertain the good will of the Citizens, as Edward the Fourth did; yet by affability and other Princely Graces, did ever make very much of them, and apply himself to them.

This year also dyed John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, Chancellor of England, and Cardinal. He was a wise man, and an eloquent, but in his nature harsh, and haughty; much accepted by the King, but envied by the Nobility, and hated of the People. Neither was his name left out of *Perkin's* Proclamation for any good will, but they would not bring him in amongst the King's Casting-Counters; because he had the Image and Superscription upon him of the Pope, in his Honour of Cardinal. He wan the King with Secrecy and Diligence, but chiefly because he was his old Servant in his less Fortunes: And also for that (in his affections) he was not without an inveterate malice against the House of York, under whom he had been in trouble. He was willing also to take Envy from the King, more than the King was willing to put upon him. For the King cared not for Subterfuges, but would stand Envy, and appear in any thing that was to his mind; which made Envy still grow upon him more universal, but less daring. But in the matter of Exactions, time did after shew, that the Bishop in

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feeding the King's humour, did rather temper it. He had been by *Richard* the Third committed (as in custody) to the Duke of *Buckingham*, whom he did secretly incite to revolt from King *Richard*. But after the Duke was engaged, and thought the Bishop should have been his chief *Pilot* in the *Tempest*, the Bishop was gotten into the *Cock-boat*, and fled over beyond *Seas*. But whatsoever else was in the Man, he deserveth a most happy Memory, in that he was the principal *Mean* of joyning the two *Roses*. He dyed of great years, but of strong health and *Powers*.

The next year, which was the Sixteenth year of the King, and the year of our *Lord* One thousand five hundred, was the year of *Jubile* at *Rome*. But Pope *Alexander*, to save the Hazard and Charges of mens Journeys to *Rome*, thought good to make over those *Graces* by exchange, to such as would pay a convenient *Rate*, seeing they could not come to fetch them. For which purpose was sent into *England* *Jasper Pons*, a *Spaniard*, the Pope's *Commissioner*, better chosen than were the *Commissioners* of Pope *Leo*, afterwards employed for *Germany*; for he carried the Business with great wisdom, and semblance of *Holiness*. In so much as he levied great summs of Money within this Land to the Pope's use, with little or no *Scandal*. It was thought the King shared in the Money. But it appeareth by a Letter which Cardinal *Adrian*, the King's *Pensioner*, wrote to the King from *Rome* some few years after, that this was not so. For this Cardinal, being to perswade Pope *Julius* on the King's behalf, to expedite the *Bull* of *Dispensation* for the *Marriage* between Prince *Henry* and the Lady *Katherine*, finding the Pope difficil in granting thereof, doth use it as a principal Argument concerning the King's merit toward that *See*, that he had touched none of those *Deniers*, which had been levied by *Pons* in *England*. But that it might the better appear (for the satisfaction of the Common people) that this was *Consecrate Money*, the same *Nuncio* brought unto the King a *Brief* from the Pope, wherein the King was exhorted and summoned to come in Person against the *Turk*. For that the Pope (out of the care of an *Universal Father*) seeing almost under his eyes the Successes and Progresses of that great Enemy of the *Faith*, had had in the *Conclave*, and with the Assistance of the *Ambassadors* of forein Princes, divers Consultations about an *Holy war*, and a General Expedition of *Christian Princes* against the *Turk*. Wherein it was agreed, and thought fit, that the *Hungarians*, *Polonians*, and *Bohemians* should make a *war* upon *Thracia*; the *French* and *Spaniards* upon *Gracia*; and that the Pope (willing to sacrifice himself in so good a Cause) in Person and in Company of the King of *England*, the *Venetians*, and such other States as were great in maritim Power, would sail with a puissant *Navy* through the *Mediterrane* unto *Constantinople*. And that to this end, his Holiness had sent *Nuncios* to all *Christian Princes*; As well for a *Cessation* of all Quarrels and Differences amongst

amongst themselves, as for speedy Preparations and Contributions of Forces and Treasure for this Sacred Enterprize.

To this the King, (who understood well the Court of Rome) made an Answer rather Solemn, than Serious: Signifying;

THAT no Prince on Earth should be more forward and obedient, both by his Person, and by all his possible Forces, and Fortunes, to enter into this Sacred War, than himself. But that the distance of Place was such, as no Forces that he should raise for the Seas, could be levied or prepared, but with double the charge, and double the time (at the least) that they might be from the other Princes, that had their Territories nearer adjoining. Besides, that neither the manner of his Ships (having no Gallies) nor the Experience of his Pilots and Mariners could be so apt for those Seas, as theirs. And therefore that his Holiness might do well, to move one of those other Kings, who lay fitter for the purpose, to accompany him by Sea. whereby both all things would be sooner put in readiness, and with less Charge, and the Emulation and Division of Command, which might grow between those Kings of France and Spain; if they should both joyn in the War by Land upon Grecia, might be wisely avoided. And that for his part, he would not be wanting in Aids and Contribution. Yet notwithstanding, if both these Kings should refuse, rather than his Holiness should go alone, he would wait upon him, as soon as he could be ready. Always provided, that he might first see all Differences of the Christian Princes amongst themselves, fully laid down and appeased (as for his own part he was in none.) And that he might have some good Towns upon the Coast in Italy put into his hands, for the Retrait and safeguard of his Men.

With this Answer Jasper Pons returned, nothing at all discontented. And yet this Declaration of the King (as superficial as it was) gave him that Reputation abroad, as he was not long after elected by the Knights of the Rhodes, Protector of their Order; All things multiplying to Honour in a Prince; that had gotten such high Estimation for his wisdom and Sufficiency.

There were these two last years some proceedings against Hereticks, which was rare in this King's Reign, and rather by Penances, than by Fire. The King had (though he were no good School-man) the Honour to convert one of them by Dispute at Canterbury.

This year also, though the King were no more haunted with Sprites, for that by the sprinkling, partly of Blood, and partly of water, he had chased them away; yet nevertheless he had certain Apparitions that troubled him, still shewing themselves from one Region, which was the House of York. It came so to pass, that the Earl of Suffolk, Son to Elizabeth, eldest Sister to King Edward the Fourth, by John Duke of Suffolk, her second Husband, and

Brother to John Earl of *Lincoln*, that was slain at *Stockfield*, being of an hasty and Cholerick disposition, had killed a man in his fury; whereupon the King gave him his *Pardon*. But either willing to leave a *Cloud* upon him, or the better to make him feel his *Grace*, produced him openly to plead his *Pardon*. This wrought in the Earl, as in a haughty stomach it useth to do; for the *Ignominy* printed deeper than the *Grace*. Wherefore he being discontent, fled secretly into *Flanders*, unto his Aunt the Duchess of *Burgundy*. The King startled at it. But being taught by Troubles, to use fair and timely Remedies, wrought so with him by Messages, (the Lady *Margaret* also growing by often failing in her *Alchymy*, weary of her Experiments, and partly being a little sweetned, for that the King had not touched her name in the Confession of *Perkin*) that he came over again upon good terms, and was reconciled to the King.

In the beginning of the next year, being the Seventeenth of the King, the Lady *Katherine* fourth Daughter of *Ferdinando* and *Isabella*, King and Queen of *Spain*, arrived in *England*, at *Plimouth*, the second of *October*, and was married to Prince *Arthur* in *Pauls* the fourteenth of *November* following. The Prince being then about fifteen years of age, and the Lady about eighteen. The manner of her Receiving; the manner of her Entry into *London*, and the Celebrity of the *Marriage* were performed with great and true Magnificence, in regard of *Cost*, *Shew*, and *Order*. The chief man that took the care was Bishop *Fox*; who was not only a grave Counsellor for War or Peace, but also a good Surveyor of Works, and a good Master of Ceremonies, and any thing else that was fit for the Active part, belonging to the service of Court, or State of a great King. This *Marriage* was almost seven years in Treaty; which was in part caused by the tender years of the *Marriage-couple*, especially of the Prince. But the true reason was, that these two Princes, being Princes of great Policy and profound Judgment, stood a great time looking one upon another's Fortunes, how they would go, knowing well that in the mean time, the very Treaty it self gave abroad in the World a Reputation of a strait Conjunction and Amity between them; which served on both sides to many purposes, that their several Affairs required, and yet they continued still free. But in the end, when the Fortunes of both the Princes did grow every day more and more prosperous and assured, and that looking all about them they saw no better Conditions, they shut it up.

The *Marriage-Money* the Princess brought (which was turned over to the King by Act of Renunciation) was two hundred thousand *Ducats*. Whereof one hundred thousand were payable ten days after the Solemnization, and the other hundred thousand at two payments Annual; but part of it to be in Jewels and Plate, and a due course set down to have them justly and indifferently prized.

prized. The *Joynture* or *Advancement* of the *Lady*, was the third part of the *Principality* of *Wales*, and of the *Dukedom* of *Cornwal*, and of the *Earldom* of *Chester*, to be after set forth in severalty. And in case she came to be *Queen* of *England*, her *Advancement* was left indefinite, but thus; That it should be as great, as ever any former *Queen* of *England* had.

In all the *Devices* and *Conceits* of the *Triumphs* of this *Marriage*, there was a great deal of *Astronomy*. The *Lady* being resembled to *Hesperus*, and the *Prince* to *Arcturus*, and the old King *Alphonſus* (that was the greatest *Astronomer* of *Kings*, and was *Ancestor* to the *Lady*) was brought in to be the *Fortune-teller* of the *Match*. And whosoever had those *Toys* in *Compiling*, they were not altogether *Pedantical*. But you may be sure that King *Arthur*, the *Briton*, and the descent of the *Lady Katherine* from the *House* of *Lancaster*, was in no wise forgotten. But (as it should seem) it is not good to fetch *Fortunes* from the *Stars*. For this young *Prince* (that drew upon him at that time, not only the *Hopes* and *Affections* of his *Countrey*, but the *Eyes* and *Expectation* of *Foreiners*) after a few *Months*, in the beginning of *April*, deceased at *Ludlow-Castle*, where he was sent to keep his *Resiance* and *Court*, as *Prince* of *Wales*. Of this *Prince*, in respect he dyed so young, and by reason of his *Father's* manner of *Education*, that did cast no great *Lustre* upon his *Children*, there is little particular *Memory*. Only thus much remaineth, that he was very studious and learned, beyond his years, and beyond the *Custom* of great *Princes*.

There was a doubt ripped up in the times following, when the *Divorce* of King *Henry* the Eighth from the *Lady Katherine* did so much busie the world, whether *Arthur* was bedded with his *Lady* or no, whereby that matter in fact (of *Carnal Knowledge*) might be part of the *Case*. And it is true, that the *Lady* her self denyed it, or at least her *Council* stood upon it, and would not blanch that *Advantage*, although the plenitude of the *Pope's* power of *Dispensing* was the main *Question*. And this *Doubt* was kept long open, in respect of the two *Queens* that succeeded, *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, whose *Legitimizations* were incompatible one with another, though their *Succession* was settled by *Act* of *Parliament*. And the *Times* that favoured *Queen Maries* Legitimation, would have it believed, that there was no *Carnal Knowledge* between *Arthur* and *Katherine*. Not that they would seem to derogate from the *Pope's* absolute power, to dispense even in that *Case*; but only in point of *Honour*, and to make the *Case* more favourable and smooth. And the *Times* that favoured *Queen Elizabeths* Legitimation (which were the longer, and the later) maintained the contrary. So much there remaineth in *Memory*, that it was half a years time between the *Creation* of *Henry* *Prince* of *Wales*, and *Prince Arthur's* death; which was construed to be, for to expect a full time, whereby it might appear, whether the *Lady Katherine* were

were with *Child* by Prince *Arthur*, or no. Again, the Lady herself procured a *Bull*, for the better Corroboration of the *Marriage*, with a Clause of (*vel forsan cognitam*) which was not in the first *Bull*. There was given in Evidence also, when the cause of the *Divorce* was handled, a pleasant passage, which was; That in a Morning Prince *Arthur*, upon his up-rising from Bed with her, called for drink, which he was not accustomed to do, and finding the *Gentleman* of his Chamber that brought him the drink to smile at it and to note it, he said merrily to him, That he had been in the midst of *Spain*, which was an hot *Region*, and his Journey had made him dry, and that if the other had been in so hot a *Clime*, he would have been dryer than he. Besides, the Prince was upon the point of Sixteen years of Age when he dyed, and forward, and able in Body.

The *February* following, *Henry* Duke of *Tork* was created Prince of *Wales*, and Earl of *Chester* and *Flint*. For the Dukedom of *Cornwal* devolved to him by *Statute*. The King also being fast-handed, and loth to part with a second *Dowry*, but chiefly being affectionate both by his Nature, and out of Politick Considerations to continue the Alliance with *Spain*, prevailed with the Prince (though not without some Reluctation, such as could be in those years, for he was not twelve years of Age) to be contracted with the Princess *Katherine*. The secret *Providence* of God ordaining that *Marriage*, to be the Occasion of great Events and Changes.

The same year were the *Esponsals* of *James* King of *Scotland*, with the Lady *Margaret*, the King's eldest Daughter, which was done by *Proxy*, and published at *Paul's Cross*, the five and twentieth of *January*, and *Te Deum* solemnly sung. But certain it is, that the Joy of the City thereupon shewed, by Ringing of *Bells*, and *Bon-fires*, and such other *Incense* of the People, was more than could be expected; in a Case of so great and fresh Enmity between the *Nations*; especially in *London*, which was far enough off from feeling any of the former calamities of the *war*. And therefore might be truly attributed to a *Secret Instinct* and *Inspiring* (which many times runneth not only in the *Hearts* of *Princes*, but in the *Pulse* and *Veins* of People) touching the happiness thereby to ensue in time to come. This *Marriage* was in *August* following consummate at *Edenburgh*. The King bringing his Daughter as far as *Collyweston* on the way, and then consigning her to the Attendance of the Earl of *Northumberland*; who with a great Troop of *Lords* and *Ladies* of *Honour*, brought her into *Scotland*, to the King her Husband.

This *Marriage* had been in *Treaty* by the space of almost three years, from the time that the King of *Scotland* did first open his mind to Bishop *Fox*. The Summ given in *Marriage* by the King, was ten thousand Pounds. And the *Joynture* and *Advancement* assured

assured by the King of *Scotland*, was two thousand Pounds a year, after King *James* his Death, and one thousand Pounds a year in present, for the *Lady's* Allowance or Maintenance. This to be set forth in *Lands*, of the best and most certain Revenue. During the *Treaty*, it is reported, that the King remitted the matter to his *Council*; And that some of the *Table* in the Freedom of *Counsellors* (the King being present) did put the *Case*; that if God should take the King's two *Sons* without *Issue*, that then the Kingdom of *England* would fall to the King of *Scotland*, which might prejudice the *Monarchy* of *England*. Whereunto the King himself replied; That if that should be, *Scotland* would be but an *Accession* to *England*, and not *England* to *Scotland*, for that the greater would draw the less. And that it was a safer Union for *England*, than that of *France*. This passed as an *Oracle*, and silenced those that moved the *Question*.

The same year was fatal, as well for *Deaths*, as *Marriages*, and that with equal temper. For the *Joys* and *Feasts* of the two *Marriages*, were compensated with the *Mournings*, and *Funerals* of Prince *Arthur* (of whom we have spoken) and of Queen *Elizabeth*, who dyed in Child-bed in the *Tower*, and the *Child* lived not long after. There dyed also that year Sir *Reginold Bray*, who was noted to have had with the King the greatest Freedom of any *Counsellor*; but it was but a Freedom, the better to set off *Flattery*. Yet he bare more than his just part of *Envy*, for the *Exactions*.

At this time the King's Estate was very prosperous, secured by the Amity of *Scotland*, strengthened by that of *Spain*, cherished by that of *Burgundy*, all Domestick Troubles quenched; and all Noise of *war* (like a *Thunder* a-far-off) going upon *Italy*. Wherefore *Nature*, which many times is happily contained, and restrained by some Bands of *Fortune*, began to take place in the King; carrying (as with a strong *Tide*) his Affections and Thoughts unto the gathering and heaping up of *Treasure*. And as Kings do more easily find Instruments for their *will* and *Humour*, than for their *Service* and *Honour*; He had gotten for his purpose, or beyond his purpose, two Instruments, *Empson* and *Dudley*; (whom the people esteemed as his *Horse-Leeches* and *Shearers*) bold men; and careless of *Fame*, and that took Toll of their Master's *Grist*. *Dudley* was of a good Family, Eloquent, and one that could put *Hateful Business* into good *Language*. But *Empson*, that was the Son of a *Sieve-maker*, triumphed always upon the *Deed done*; putting off all other respects whatsoever. These two Persons being *Lawyers* in *Science*, and *Privy Counsellors* in *Authority* (as the corruption of the best things is the worst) turned *Law* and *Justice* into *Wormwood* and *Rapine*. For first, their manner was to cause divers *Subjects* to be indicted of sundry Crimes, and so far forth to proceed in form of *Law*; But when the *Bills* were found, then presently to commit them. And nevertheless not to produce them to any reasonable time to their

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Answer, but to suffer them to languish long in *Prison*; and by sundry artificial *Devices* and *Terrours*, to extort from them great *Fines* and *Ransoms*, which they termed *Compositions* and *Mitigations*.

Neither did they (towards the end) observe so much as the *Half-face* of *Justice*, in proceeding by *Indictment*; but sent forth their *Precepts* to attach men; and convent them before themselves and some others; at their private Houses, in a *Court of Commission*, and there used to shuffle up a *Summary Proceeding*, by *Examination*, without tryal of *Jury*; assuming to themselves there, to deal both in *Pleas* of the *Crown*, and *Controversies Civil*.

Then did they also use to enthrall and charge the *Subjects* Lands with *Tenures in Capite*, by finding *False Offices*; and thereby to work upon them for *Wardships*, *Liveries*, *Primier Seisins*, and *Alienations*, (being the fruits of those *Tenures*) refusing upon divers *Pretexts* and *Delays*, to admit men to traverse those *False Offices*, according to the *Law*. Nay, the King's *Wards* after they had accomplished their full Age, could not be suffered to have *Livery* of their Lands; without paying excessive *Fines*, far exceeding all reasonable Rates. They did also vex men with *Informations* of *Intrusion* upon scarce colourable *Titles*.

When men were *Out-lawed* in *Personal Actions* they would not permit them to purchase their *Charters* of *Pardon*, except they paid great and intolerable sums; standing upon the strict Point of *Law*, which upon *Out-lawries* giveth *Forfeiture* of Goods. Nay; contrary to all *Law* and Colour, they maintained, the King ought to have the half of mens Lands and *Rents*, during the space of full two years, for a *Pain* in Case of *Out-lawry*. They would also ruffle with *Jurors*, and enforce them to find as they would direct; and (if they did not) Convent them, Imprison them, and Fine them.

These and many other Courses, fitter to be buried than repeated, they had of *Preying* upon the *People*; both like *Tame Hawks* for their Master, and like *Wild Hawks* for themselves; in so much as they grew to great Riches and Substance. But their principal working was upon *Penal Laws*, wherein they spared none, great nor small; nor considered whether the *Law* were possible, or impossible, in *Use* or *Obsolete*. But raked over all old and new *Statutes*, though many of them were made with intention rather of *Terrour*, than of *Rigour*; having ever a Rabble of *Promoters*, *Quest-mongers*, and leading *Jurors* at their Command, so as they could have any thing found either for *Fact*, or *Valuation*.

There remaineth to this day a *Report*, that the King was on a time entertained by the Earl of *Oxford* (that was his principal *Servant*, both for *War* and *Peace*) nobly and sumptuously, at his Castle at *Henningham*. And at the King's going away, the Earl's *Servants* stood (in a seemly manner) in their *Livery-Coats*, with *Cognisances*, ranged on both sides, and made the King a *Lane*. The King

King called the Earl to him, and said; *My Lord, I have heard much of your Hospitality, but I see it is greater than the speech. These handſom Gentlemen and Yeomen, which I ſee on both ſides of me, are ſure your Menial-Servants.* The Earl ſmiled, and ſaid, *It may pleaſe your Grace, that were not for mine eaſe. They are moſt of them my Retainers, they are come to do me ſervice at ſuch a time as this, and chiefly to ſee your Grace.* The King ſtarted a little, and ſaid; *By my faith (my Lord) I thank you for my good Cheer, but I may not endure to have my Laws broken in my ſight. My Attorney muſt ſpeak with you.* And it is part of the Report, that the Earl compounded for no leſs than fifteen thouſand Marks. And to ſhew further the Kings extreme Diligence; I do remember to have ſeen long ſince a Book of Accompt of Empſon's, that had the King's hand almoſt to every Leaf, by way of *Signing*, and was in ſome places *Poſtilled* in the *Margin*, with the King's hand likewise, where was this Remembrance :

Item, Received of ſuch a one, five Marks for the Pardon to be procured; and if the Pardon do not paſs, the Money to be re-paid, except the party be ſome other-ways ſatisfied.

And over againſt this *Memorandum* (of the King's own hand)

Otherwise ſatisfied.

Which I do the rather mention, becauſe it ſhews in the King a *Nearneſs*, but yet with a kind of *Juſtneſs*. So theſe little *Sands* and *Grains* of Gold and Silver (as it ſeemeth) helped not a little to make up the great *Heap* and *Bank*.

But mean while (to keep the King awake) the Earl of *Suffolk* having been too gay at Prince *Arthur's* Marriage, and ſunk himſelf deep in Debt, had yet once more a mind to be a *Knight-Errent*, and to ſeek *Adventures* in Foreign parts. And taking his Brother with him, fled again into *Flanders*. That (no doubt) which gave him Confidence, was the great *Murmur* of the People againſt the King's Government. And being a Man of a light and raſh Spirit, he thought every *Vapour* would be a *Tempeſt*. Neither wanted he ſome Party within the Kingdom. For the *Murmur* of People awakes the *Discontents* of Nobles; and again, that calleth up commonly ſome *Head of Sedition*. The King reſorting to his wonted and tried Arts, cauſed Sir *Robert Curſon*, Captain of the Caſtle at *Hammes* (being at that time beyond Sea, and therefore leſs likely to be wrought upon by the King) to flie from his Charge, and to feign himſelf a ſervant of the Earl's. This Knight, having inſinuated himſelf into the Secrets of the Earl, and finding by him upon whom chiefly he had either *Hope* or *Hold*, advertiſed the King thereof in great ſecrecy. But nevertheleſs maintained his own Credit and inward truſt with the Earl. Upon whoſe Advertiſe-

ments, the King attached *William Courtney*, Earl of *Devonshire*, his Brother-in-Law, married to the Lady *Katherine*, Daughter to King *Edward the Fourth*; *William de la Pole*, Brother to the Earl of *Suffolk*; *Sir James Tirrel*, and *Sir John Windham*, and some other meaner Persons, and committed them to Custody. *George*, Lord *Abergavenny*, and *Sir Thomas Green*, were at the same time apprehended; but as upon less Suspicion, so in a freer Restraint, and were soon after delivered. The Earl of *Devonshire*, being interested in the blood of *York*, that was rather Feared than Nocent; yet as One, that might be the Object of others Plots and Designs, remained Prisoner in the Tower, during the King's life. *William de la Pole*, was also long restrained, though not so straitly. But for *Sir James Tirrel* (against whom the Blood of the Innocent Princes, *Edward the Fifth*, and his Brother did still cry from under the Altar) and *Sir John Windham*, and the other meaner ones, they were attainted and executed; the two Knights beheaded. Nevertheless, to confirm the Credit of *Curson* (who belike had not yet done all his Feats of Activity) there was published at *Paul's Cross*, about the time of the said Executions, the Pope's Bull of Excommunication and Curse, against the Earl of *Suffolk*, and *Sir Robert Curson*, and some others by name, and likewise in general against all the Abettors of the said Earl. Wherein it must be confessed, that Heaven was made too much to bow to Earth, and Religion to Policy. But soon after, *Curson* (when he saw time) returned into England, and withal into wonted Favour with the King, but worse Fame with the People. Upon whose return the Earl was much dismayed, and seeing himself destitute of hopes (the Lady *Margaret* also by tract of Time, and bad Success, being now become cool in those attempts) after some wandering in *France*, and *Germany*, and certain little Projects, no better than Squibs of an Exiled man, being tired out, retired again into the Protection of the Arch-Duke *Philip* in *Flanders*, who by the death of *Isabella* was at that time King of *Castile*, in the right of *Joan* his Wife.

This year (being the Nineteenth of his Reign) the King called his Parliament. Wherein a man may easily guess, how absolute the King took himself to be with his Parliament, when *Dudley* that was so hateful, was made Speaker of the House of Commons. In this Parliament, there were not made any Statutes memorable, touching publick Government. But those that were, had still the Stamp of the King's Wisdom and Policy.

There was a Statute made for the disannulling of all Patents of Lease, or Grant, to such as came not upon lawful Summons, to serve the King in his wars, against the Enemies or Rebels, or that should depart without the King's licence; With an exception of certain Persons of the Long-robe. Providing nevertheless, That they should have the King's Wages, from their House, till their return home again. There had been the like made before for Offices, and by
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*Sir & Great
for another fault
was concerned in
the death of D. S.
a Brother*

this Statute it was extended to *Lands*. But a man may easily see by many *Statutes* made in this King's time, that the King thought it safest, to assist *Martial Law* by *Law of Parliament*.

Another Statute was made, prohibiting the bringing in of *Manufactures* of *Silk* wrought by it self, or mixt with any other *Thred*. But it was not of *Stuffs* of whole piece (for that the Realm had of them no *Manufacture* in use at that time) but of *Knit-Silk*, or *Texture of Silk*; as *Ribands*, *Laces*, *Cawls*, *Points*, and *Girdles*, &c. which the people of *England* could then well skill to make. This Law pointed at a true Principle; That where *foreign materials* are but *Superfluities*, *foreign Manufactures* should be prohibited. For that will either banish the *Superfluity*, or gain the *Manufacture*.

There was a Law also of *Resumption of Patents of Gaols*, and the *Reannexing* of them to the *Sherifswicks*; *Priviledged Officers* being no less an *Interruption of Justice*, than *Priviledged Places*.

There was likewise a Law to restrain the *By-laws* or *Ordinances* of *Corporations*, which many times were against the *Prerogative* of the King, the *Common-law* of the *Realm*, and the *Liberty* of the *Subject*, being *Fraternities in Evil*. It was therefore *Provided*, that they should not be put in *Execution*, without the *Allowance* of the *Chancellor*, *Treasurer*, and the two *Chief-Justices*, or three of them, or of the two *Justices of Circuit* where the *Corporation* was.

Another Law was (in effect) to bring in the *Silver* of the *Realm* to the *Mint*, in making all clipped, minished, or impaired *Coins* of *Silver*, not to be currant in payments, without giving any *Remedy* of weight, but with an exception only of a reasonable wearing, which was as nothing in respect of the *incertainty*, and so (upon the matter) to set the *Mint* on work, and give way to *New Coins* of *Silver*, which should be then minted.

There likewise was a long Statute against *Vagabonds*, wherein two things may be noted; The one, the *Dislike* the *Parliament* had of *Gaoing* of them, as that which was chargeable, pesterous, and of no open Example. The other, that in the *Statutes* of this King's time, (for this of the *Nineteenth* year is not the only Statute of that kind) there are ever coupled, the *punishment* of *Vagabonds*, and the *forbidding* of *Dice*, and *Cards*, and unlawful *Games* unto *Servants* and mean people, and the putting down and suppressing of *Ale-houses*, as *Strings* of one *Root* together, and as if the One were unprofitable, without the Other.

As for *Riot* and *Retainers*, there passed scarce any *Parliament* in this time without a Law against them, the King ever having an Eye to *Might*, and *Multitude*.

There was granted also that *Parliament* a *Subsidy*, both for the *Temporality* and the *Clergy*. And yet nevertheless, ere the year expired; there went out *Commissions* for a general *Benevolence*, though there were no *Wars*, no *Fears*. The same year the *City* gave five thousand Marks, for *Confirmation* of their *Liberties*; A thing fitter for the

Beginnings of King's Reigns, than the latter Ends. Neither was it a small matter, that the *Mint* gained upon the late *Statute*, by the *Recoinage* of *Groats*, and *Half-Groats*, now *Twelve-pences* and *Six-pences*. As for *Empson* and *Dudley's Mills*, they did grind more than ever. So that it was a strange thing, to see what *Golden Showrs* poured down upon the King's *Treasury* at once. The last payments of the *Marriage-Money* from *Spain*; The *Subsidy*; The *Benevolence*; The *Recoinage*; The *Redemption* of the *Cities Liberties*; The *Casualties*. And this is the more to be marvelled at, because the King had then no Occasions at all of *Wars* or *Troubles*. He had now but one *Son* and one *Daughter* unbested. He was *wise*; He was of an *High Mind*; He needed not to make *Riches* his *Glory*. He did excel in so many things else; save that certainly *Avarice* doth ever find in it self matter of *Ambition*. Belike he thought to leave his Son such a *Kingdom*, and such a *Mass* of *Treasure*, as he might choose his *Greatness* where he would.

This year was also kept the *Serjeants Feast*, which was the second *Call* in this Kings Days.

About this time *Isabella*, Queen of *Castile*, deceased; a right Noble Lady, and an Honour to her Sex, and Times, and the Corner-stone of the Greatness of *Spain*, that hath followed. This Accident the King took not for *News* at large, but thought it had a great Relation to his own Affairs; especially in two points: The one for *Example*; the other for *Consequence*. First; he conceived that the *Case* of *Ferdinando* of *Arragon*; after the death of Queen *Isabella*, was his own *Case*, after the death of his own Queen: and the *Case* of *Joan*, the Heir unto *Castile*, was the *Case* of his own Son Prince *Henry*. For if both of the Kings had their *Kingdoms* in the right of their *Wives*, they descended to the *Heirs*, and did not accrew to the *Husbands*. And although his own *Case* had both *Steel* and *Parchment*, more than the other (that is to say, a *Conquest* in the *Field*, and an *Act* of *Parliament*) yet, notwithstanding, that Natural Title of Descent in *Blood*, did (in the imagination even of a wise man) breed a *Doubt*, that the other two were not safe nor sufficient. Wherefore he was wonderful diligent to enquire and observe what became of the King of *Arragon*, in holding and continuing the Kingdom of *Castile*. And whether he did hold it in his own *Right*, or as *Administrator* to his *Daughter*; and whether he were like to hold it in *Faith*, or to be put out by his *Son-in-Law*. Secondly, he did revolve in his mind, that the State of *Christendom* might by this late Accident have a turn. For whereas before-time himself, with the *Conjunction* of *Arragon* and *Castile* (which then was one) and the *Amity* of *Maximilian* and *Philip* his Son the Arch-Duke, was far too strong a *Party* for *France*; he began to fear, that now the *French King* (who had great *Interest* in the Affections of *Philip* the young King of *Castile*) and *Philip* himself, now King of *Castile*, (who was in
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ill terms with his *Father-in-Law* about the present Government of *Castile*. And thirdly *Maximilian*, *Philip's* Father (who was ever variable, and upon whom the surest Aim that could be taken, was that he would not be long, as he had been last before) would, all three being potent *Princes*, enter into some strait *League* and *Confederation* amongst themselves. Whereby though he should not be endangered, yet he should be left to the poor Amity of *Arragon*. And whereas he had been heretofore a kind of *Arbiter* of *Europe*, he should now go less, and be over-topped by so great a *Conjunction*. He had also (as it seems) an inclination to marry, and berthought himself of some fit Conditions abroad. And amongst others he had heard of the *Beauty* and virtuous *Behaviour* of the young Queen of *Naples*, the Widow of *Ferdinando* the younger, being then of *Matronal* years of seven and twenty. By whose Marriage he thought that the Kingdom of *Naples* (having been a Goal for a time, between the King of *Arragon*, and the *French* King, and being but newly settled) might in some part be deposited in his hands, who was so able to keep the Stakes. Therefore he sent in Ambassage or Message three confident Persons; *Francis Marsin*, *James Braybrook*, and *John Stile*, upon two several *Inquisitions* rather than *Negotiations*. The One, touching the Person and Condition of the young Queen of *Naples*; the Other, touching all particulars of *Estate*, that concerned the *Fortunes* and *Intentions* of *Ferdinando*. And because they may observe best, who themselves are observed least; he sent them under *Colourable Pretexts*; giving them Letters of Kindness and Compliment from *Katharine* the Princess, to her Aunt, and Niece, the Old and Young Queen of *Naples*, and delivering to them also a *Book* of new *Articles* of *Peace*; which notwithstanding it had been delivered unto Doctor *De Puebla*, the Leigier Ambassador of *Spain* here in *England*, to be sent; yet for that the King had been long without hearing from *Spain*, he thought good those *Messengers*, when they had been with the two Queens, should likewise pass on to the Court of *Ferdinando*, and take a Copy of the *Book* with them. The *Instructions* touching the Queen of *Naples* were so curious and exquisite, being as *Articles* whereby to direct a *Survey*, or framing a *Particular* of her *Person*, for Complexion, Favour, Feature, Stature, Health, Age, Customs, Behaviour, Conditions, and Estate, as if the King had been young, a man would have judged him to be *Amorous*; but being ancient, it ought to be interpreted, that sure he was very *Chast*, for that he meant to find all things in one Woman, and so to settle his *Affections*, without ranging. But in this *Match* he was soon cooled, when he heard from his Ambassadors, that this young Queen had had a goodly *Foynture* in the Realm of *Naples*, well answered during the time of her Uncle *Frederick*, yea, and during the time of *Lewis* the *French* King, in whose *Division* her Revenue fell; but since the time that the Kingdome

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was in *Ferdinando's* hands; all was assigned to the Army, and Garrisons there, and she received only a *Pension* or *Exhibition* out of his Coffers.

The other part of the *Inquiry* had a grave and diligent Return, informing the King at full of the present State of King *Ferdinando*. By this Report it appeared to the King, that *Ferdinando* did continue the Government of *Castile* as Administrator unto his Daughter *Joan*, by the Title of *Queen Isabella's* Will, and partly by the Custom of the Kingdom, as he pretended. And that all *Mandates* and *Grants* were expedited in the name of *Joan* his Daughter, and himself as Administrator, without mention of *Philip*, her Husband. And that King *Ferdinando*, howsoever he did dismiss himself of the name of King of *Castile*, yet meant to hold the Kingdom, without Accompt, and in absolute Command.

It appeareth also, that he flattered himself with hopes, that King *Philip* would permit unto him the Government of *Castile* during his life; which he had laid his Plot to work him unto, both by some *Counsellors* of his about him, which *Ferdinando* had at his devotion, and chiefly by promise, that in case *Philip* gave not way unto it, he would marry some young Lady, whereby to put him by the Succession of *Aragon* and *Granada*, in case he should have a Son. And lastly by representing unto him that the Government of the *Burgundians*, till *Philip* were by continuance in *Spain* made as Natural of *Spain*, would not be endured by the *Spaniards*. But in all those things (though wisely laid down and considered) *Ferdinando* failed; But that *Pluto* was better to him than *Pallas*.

In the same Report also, the Ambassadors being mean men, and therefore the more free, did strike upon a string which was somewhat dangerous. For they declared plainly, that the People of *Spain*, both Nobles and Commons, were better affected unto the part of *Philip* (so he brought his Wife with him) than to *Ferdinando*; and expressed the reason to be, because he had imposed upon them many *Taxes*, and *Tallages*, which was the King's own Case between him and his Son.

There was also in this Report a Declaration of an Overture of of *Marriage*, which *Amason* the Secretary of *Ferdinando* had made unto the Ambassadors in great secret, between *Charles* Prince of *Castile* and *Mary* the King's second Daughter, assuring the King, that the Treaty of *Marriage* then on foot, for the said Prince and the Daughter of *France*, would break, and that she the said Daughter of *France* should be married to *Angolesme*, that was the Heir Apparant of *France*.

There was a touch also of a speech of *Marriage* between *Ferdinando* and *Madam De Fois*, a Lady of the Blood of *France*, which afterwards indeed succeeded. But this was reported as learned in *France*, and silenced in *Spain*.

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The King by the return of this Ambassage, which gave great light unto his Affairs, was well instructed, and prepared how to carry himself between *Ferdinando* King of *Arragon*, and *Philip* his Son-in-law, King of *Castile*; resolving with himself, to do all that in him lay to keep them at one within themselves; But howsoever that succeeded, by a moderate Carriage and bearing the Person of a *Common-friend*, to lose neither of their Friendships; but yet to run a *Course* more *entire* with the King of *Arragon*, but more *laboured* and *officious* with the King of *Castile*. But he was much taken with the Overture of *Marriage* with his Daughter *Mary*; Both because it was the greatest *Marriage* of *Christendom*, and for that it took hold of both Allies.

But to corroborate his Alliance with *Philip*, the Winds gave him an Enterview. For *Philip* choosing the Winter-season, the better to surprisè the King of *Arragon*, set forth with a great Navy out of *Flanders* for *Spain* in the Month of *January*, the One and Twentieth year of the King's Reign. But himself was surprisèd with a cruel *Tempest*, that scattered his Ships upon the several Coasts of *England*. And the Ship wherein King and Queen were (with two other small Barques only) torn, and in great peril to escape the fury of the weather, thrust into *Weymouth*. King *Philip* himself, having not been used (as it seems) to Sea, all wearied and extreme sick, would needs land to refresh his Spirits, though it was against the Opinion of his *Council*, doubting it might breed *Delay*, his Occasions requiring *Celerity*.

The Rumour of the Arrival of a puissant Navy upon the Coast, made the Countrey Arm. And Sir *Thomas Trenchard* with Forces suddenly raised, not knowing what the matter might be, came to *Weymouth*. Where understanding the Accident, he did in all Humbleness and Humanity invite the King and Queen to his House; and forthwith dispatched *Posts* to the Court. Soon after came Sir *John Caroe* likewise, with a great troop of Men well armed; using the like Humbleness and Respect towards the King, when he knew the Case. King *Philip* doubting that they, being but Subjects, durst not let him pass away again, without the King's Notice and Leave, yielded to their Entreaties, to stay till they heard from the Court. The King as soon as he heard the News, commanded presently the Earl of *Arundel*, to go to visit the King of *Castile*, and let him understand; That as he was very sorry for his Mishap, so he was glad that he had escaped the Danger of the Seas, and likewise of the Occasion himself had to do him Honour; and desiring him, to think himself as in his own Land; and that the King made all haste possible to come and embrace him. The Earl came to him in great Magnificence; with a brave Troop of three hundred Horse; and (for more State) came by Torch-light. After he had done the King's Message, King *Philip* seeing how the world went, the sooner to get away
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scowls between
King of Castile &
King of France

went upon speed to the King at *Windsor*, and his Queen followed by easie journeys. The two Kings at their meeting used all the *Caresses*, and loving Demonstrations, that were possible. And the King of *Castile* laid presently to the King; *That he was now punished, for that he would not come within his walled Town of Calice, when they met last.* But the King answered, *That walls and Seas were nothing, where Hearts were open, and that he was here no otherwise, but to be served.* After a day or two's refreshing, the Kings entred into speech of renewing the *Treaty*; the King laying, *That though King Philip's Person were the same, yet his Fortunes and State were raised.* In which Case a Renovation of *Treaty* was used amongst *Princes*. But while these things were in handling, the King choosing a fit time, and drawing the King of *Castile* into a Room, where they two only were private, and laying his hand civilly upon his arm, and changing his Countenance a little from a Countenance of *Entertainment*, said to him; *Sir, you have been saved upon my Coast, I hope you will not suffer me to wrack upon yours.* The King of *Castile* asked him, *What he meant by that speech?* *I mean it* (saith the King) *by that same Hare-brain wild Fellow, my Subject, the Earl of Suffolk, who is protected in your Countrey, and begins to play the Fool, when all others are weary of it.* The King of *Castile* answered; *I had thought (Sir) your Felicity had been above those thoughts.* But if it trouble you, *I will banish him.* The King replied; *Those Hornets were best in their Nests, and worst when they did flie abroad, that his desire was, to have him delivered to him.* The King of *Castile* herewith a little confused, and in a study, said; *That can I not do with my honour, and less with yours; for you will be thought to have used me as a Prisoner.* The King presently said; *Then the matter is at an end. For I will take that dishonour upon me, and so your honour is saved.* The King of *Castile*, who had the King in great Estimation, and besides remembred where he was, and knew not what use he might have of the King's Amity, for that himself was new in his Estate of *Spain*, and unsetled, both with his Father-in-Law, and with his People, composing his Countenance, said; *Sir, you give Law to me; but so will I to you. You shall have him, but (upon your honour) you shall not take his life.* The King embracing him, said; *Agreed.* Saith the King of *Castile*, *Neither shall it dislike you, if I send to him in such a fashion, as he may partly come with his own good will.* The King said; *It was well thought of; and if it pleased him, he would joyn with him, in sending to the Earl a Message to that purpose.* They both sent severally, and mean while they continued *Feasting and Pastimes*. The King being (on his part) willing to have the Earl sure before the King of *Castile* went; and the King of *Castile* being as willing to seem to be enforced. The King also with many wise and excellent Perswasions, did advise the King of *Castile*, to be ruled by the counsel of his Father-in-Law *Ferdinando*; a Prince so prudent, so experienced,

so fortunate. The King of *Castile* (who was in no very good terms with his said Father-in-Law) answered ; *That if his Father-in-Law would suffer him to govern his Kingdoms , he should govern him.*

There were immediately Messengers sent from both Kings to recall the Earl of *Suffolk* : Who upon gentle words used to him was soon charmed , and willing enough to return ; assured of his *Life* , and hoping of his *Liberty*. He was brought through *Flanders* to *Calice* , and thence landed at *Dover* , and with sufficient Guard delivered and received at the *Tower of London*. Mean while King *Henry* (to draw out the time) continued his *Feastings* and *Entertainments* , and after he had received the King of *Castile* into the *Fraternity* of the *Garter* , and for a Reciprocal had his Son the Prince admitted to the *Order* of the *Golden-fleece* , he accompanied King *Philip* and his *Queen* to the *City of London* ; where they were entertained with the greatest *Magnificence* and *Triumph* , that could be upon no greater warning. And as soon as the Earl of *Suffolk* had been conveyed to the *Tower* (which was the serious part) the Jollities had an end, and the Kings took leave. Nevertheless during their being here , they in substance concluded that *Treaty* , which the *Flemings* term *Intercursus malus* , and bears Date at *Windsor* ; for that there be some things in it , more to the Advantage of the *English* , than of them ; especially , for that the *Free-fishing* of the *Dutch* upon the Coasts and Seas of *England* , granted in the *Treaty* of *Undecimo* , was not by this *Treaty* confirmed. All *Articles* that confirm former *Treaties* being precisely and warily limited and confirmed to matter of *Commerce* only , and not otherwise.

It was observed , that the great Tempest which drove *Philip* into *England* , blew down the *Golden Eagle* , from the Spire of *Pauls* , and in the fall it fell upon a Sign of the *Black Eagle* , which was in *Pauls* Church-yard , in the place where the *School-House* now standeth , and battered it , and brake it down. Which was a strange stooping of a *Hawk* upon a *Fowl*. This the People interpreted to be an Ominous Prognostick upon the *Imperial House* , which was (by Interpretation also) fulfilled upon *Philip* the Emperor's Son , not only in the Present Disaster of the Tempest , but in that that followed. For *Philip* arriving into *Spain* , and attaining the Possession of the Kingdom of *Castile* without resistance , (insomuch as *Ferdinando* , who had spoke so great before , was with difficulty admitted to the speech of his Son-in-Law) sickned soon after , and deceased. Yet after such time as there was an *Observation* by the wisest of that *Court* , That if he had lived ; his Father would have gained upon him in that sort , as he would have governed his *Counsels* and *Designs* , if not his *Affections*. By this all *Spain* returned into the power of *Ferdinando* in state as it was before ; the rather , in regard of the infirmity of *Jean* his Daughter ; who loving her Husband (by whom she had many Children) dearly well , and no less beloved of him) howsoever
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her Father, to make *Philip* ill beloved of the People of *Spain*, gave out that *Philip* used her not well) was unable in strength of mind to bear the Grief of his Decease, and fell distracted of her *wits*. Of which *Malady* her Father was thought no ways to endeavour the Cure, the better to hold his Regal Power in *Castile*. So that as the Felicity of *Charles* the Eighth was said to be a *Dream*; so the Adversity of *Ferdinando* was said likewise to be a *Dream*, it passed over so soon.

About this time the King was desirous to bring into the House of *Lancaster* Celestial Honour, and became Suitor to Pope *Julius*, to Canonize King *Henry* the Sixt for a *Saint*; the rather, in respect of that his famous Prediction of the King's own Assumption to the Crown. *Julius* referred the matter (as the manner is) to certain *Cardinals*, to take the verification of his *Holy Acts* and *Miracles*. But it dyed under the Reference. The general Opinion was, that Pope *Julius* was too dear, and that the King would not come to his *Rates*. But it is more probable, That that Pope (who was extremely jealous of the Dignity of the *See* of *Rome*, and of the Acts thereof) knowing that King *Henry* the Sixt was reputed in the World abroad but for a *Simple Man*, was afraid it would but diminish the Estimation of that kind of Honour, if there were not a distance kept between *Innocents* and *Saints*.

The same year likewise there proceeded a Treaty of Marriage between the King and the Lady *Margaret* Duchess Dowager of *Savoy*, only Daughter to *Maximilian*, and Sister to the King of *Castile*; a Lady wise, and of great good Fame. This Matter had been in speech between the two Kings at their meeting, but was soon after resumed; and therein was employed for his first piece the King's then *Chaplain*, and after the great Prelate *Thomas Wolsley*. It was in the end concluded, with great and ample Conditions for the King, but with promise *De Futuro* only. It may be the King was the rather induced unto it, for that he heard more and more of the Marriage to go on between his great Friend and Allie *Ferdinando* of *Arragon*, and *Madam De Foix*, whereby that King began to piece with the *French* King, from whom he had been always before severed. So fatal a thing it is, for the greatest and straitest Amities of Kings, at one time or other to have a little of the wheel. Nay there is a further Tradition (in *Spain*, though not with us) That the King of *Arragon*, after he knew that the Marriage between *Charles*, the young Prince of *Castile*, and *Mary* the King's second Daughter went roundly on (which though it was first moved by the King of *Arragon*, yet it was afterwards wholly advanced and brought to perfection by *Maximilian*, and the Friends on that side) entred into jealousy, that the King did aspire to the Government of *Castilia*, as *Administrator* during the Minority of his Son-in-Law; as if there should have been a Competition of Three for that Government; *Ferdinando*, Grand-father on the Mothers side;

Maxi-

Maximilian, Grand-father on the Father's side; and King *Henry*, Father-in-Law to the young Prince. Certainly, it is not unlike, but the King's Government (carrying the young Prince with him) would have been perhaps more welcom to the *Spaniards*, than that of the other Two. For the Nobility of *Castilia*, that so lately put out the King of *Arragon*, in favour of King *Philip*, and had discovered themselves so far, could not but be in a secret Distrust and Distast of that King. And as for *Maximilian*, upon Twenty respects he could not have been the Man. But this purpose of the King's seemeth to me (considering the King's safe Courses, never found to be enterprizing or adventurous) not greatly probable, except he should have had a Desire to breathe warmer, because he had ill *Lungs*. This *Marriage* with *Margaret* was protracted from time to time, in respect of the *Infirmity* of the King, who now in the Two and Twentieth year of his Reign began to be troubled with the *Gout*. But the Defluxion taking also into his Breast, wasted his *Lungs*, so that thrice in a Year (in a kind of Return, and especially in the *Spring*,) he had great Fitts and Labours of the *Tissick*. Nevertheless he continued to intend Business with as great diligence, as before in his Health. Yet so, as upon this warning, he did likewise now more seriously think of the World to come, and of making himself a *Saint*, as well as King *Henry* the Sixth, by *Treasure* better employed, than to be given to Pope *Julius*. For this Year he gave greater *Alms* than accustomed, and discharged all *Prisoners* about the *City*, that lay for *Fees* or *Debts*, under forty Shillings. He did also make haste with Religious *Foundations*; and in the Year following (which was the Three and Twentieth) finished that of the *Savoy*. And hearing also of the bitter *Cries* of his *People* against the *Oppressions* of *Dudley* and *Empson*, and their Complices; partly by *Devout* Persons about him, and partly by publick *Sermons* (the *Preachers* doing their Duty therein) he was touched with great Remorse for the same. Nevertheless, *Empson* and *Dudley*, though they could not but hear of these Scruples in the King's Conscience; yet as if the King's *Soul* and his *Money* were in several *Offices*, that the One was not to intermeddle with the Other, went on with as great rage as ever. For the same Three and Twentieth Year was there a sharp Prosecution against Sir *William Capel* now the second time; and this was for matters of Misgovernment in his *Maioralty*. The great Matter being, that in some Payments he had taken knowledge of *False Moneys*, and did not his diligence to examine, and beat it out, who were the Offendors. For this and some other things laid to his Charge, he was condemned to pay two thousand Pounds; and being a Man of stomach, and hardened by his former Troubles, refused to pay a *Mite*; and be-like used some untoward Speeches of the Proceedings, for which he was sent to the *Tower*, and there remained till the King's Death. *Knefworth* likewise, that had been lately

Mayor of *London*, and both his Sheriffs, were, for Abuses in their Offices, questioned, and imprisoned, and delivered, upon one thousand four hundred Pounds paid. *Havis*, an Alderman of *London*, was put in Trouble, and dyed with Thought and Anguish, before his Business came to an end. Sir *Lawrence Ailmer*, who had likewise been Mayor of *London*, and his two Sheriffs, were put to the Fine of one thousand Pounds. And Sir *Lawrence*, for refusing to make payment, was committed to Prison, where he stay'd till *Empson* himself was committed in his place.

It is no marvel (if the *Faults* were so light, and the *Rates* so heavy) that the King's Treasure of Store, that he left at his death, most of it in secret places, under his own key and keeping, at *Richmond*, amounted (as by Tradition it is reported to have done) unto the Summ of near eighteen hundred thousand Pounds Sterling; a huge Mass of *Money*, even for these times.

The last *Act of State* that concluded this King's Temporal Felicity, was the Conclusion of a Glorious *Match* between his Daughter *Mary*, and *Charles* Prince of *Castile*, afterwards the great Emperor, both being of tender years; which *Treaty* was perfected by Bishop *Fox*, and other his Commissioners at *Calice*, the year before the King's Death. In which *Alliance*, it seemeth he himself took so high Contentment, as in a Letter which he wrote thereupon to the City of *London*, (Commanding all possible Demonstrations of Joy to be made for the same) he expresseth himself, as if he thought he had built a *wall of Brass* about his Kingdom. When he had for his Sons-in-Law a King of *Scotland*, and a Prince of *Castile* and *Burgundy*. So as now there was nothing to be added to this great King's Felicity, being at the top of all worldly *Bliss*, (in regard of the high *Marriages* of his Children, his great *Renown* throughout *Europe*, and his scarce credible *Riches*, and the perpetual *Constancy* of his prosperous Successes) but an opportune *Death*, to withdraw him from any future blow of *Fortune*. Which certainly (in regard of the great *Hatred* of his *People* and the *Title* of his *Son*, being then come to Eighteen years of Age, and being a bold Prince and liberal, and that gained upon the *People* by his very *Aspect* and *Presence*) had not been impossible to have come upon him.

To crown also the last year of his Reign, as well as his first, he did an *Act of Piety*, rare, and worthy to be taken into Imitation. For he granted forth a *General Pardon*, as expecting a second *Coronation* in a better Kingdom. He did also declare in his *will*, that his mind was, that *Restitution* should be made of those *Summs*, which had been unjustly taken by his *Officers*.

And thus this *Solomon* of *England* (for *Solomon* also was too heavy upon his *People* in *Exactions*) having lived Two and Fifty Years, and thereof Reigned Three and Twenty Years and Eight Months,

Months, being in perfect *Memory*, and in a most Blessed *Mind*, in a great *Calm* of a *Consuming Sickness* passed to a better World, the Two and Twentieth of *April*, 1508. at his Palace of *Richmond*, which himself had Built.

THis King (to speak of him in Terms equal to his Deserving) was one of the best sort of Wonders; a Wonder for Wise-men. He had parts (both in his Virtues, and his Fortune) not so fit for a Common-place, as for Observation. Certainly he was Religious, both in his Affection and Observance. But as he could see clear (for those times) through Superstition, so he would be blinded (now and then) by Humane Policy. He advanced Church-men; he was tender in the Privilege of Sanctuaries, though they wrought him much Mischief. He built and endowed many Religious Foundations, besides his Memorable Hospital of the Savoy. And yet was he a great Almsgiver in secret; which shewed, that his Works in publick were dedicated rather to God's glory, than his own. He professed always to love and seek Peace; and it was his usual Preface in his Treaties; That when Christ came into the World, Peace was sung; and when He went out of the World, Peace was bequeathed. And this Virtue could not proceed out of Fear, or Softness; for he was Valiant and Active, and therefore (no doubt) it was truly Christian and Moral. Yet he knew the way to Peace, was not to seem to be desirous to avoid Wars. Therefore would he make Offers, and Fumes of Wars, till he had mended the Conditions of Peace. It was also much, that one that was so great a Lover of Peace, should be so happy in War. For his Arms (either in Forein or Civil Wars) were never Infortunate; neither did he know what a Disaster meant. The War of his Coming in, and the Rebellions of the Earl of Lincoln, and the Lord Awdley were ended by Victory. The Wars of France and Scotland, by Peaces sought at his hands. That of Britain, by accident of the Duke's death. The Insurrection of the Lord Lovel, and that of Perkin at Exceter, and in Kent, by flight of the Rebels, before they came to Blows. So that his Fortune of Arms was still Inviolat. The rather sure, for that in the quenching of the Commotions of his Subjects, he ever went in Person. Sometimes reserving himself to back and second his Lieutenants, but ever in Action; and yet that was not meerly Forwardness, but partly Distrust of others.

He did much maintain and countenance his Laws, which (nevertheless) was no Impediment to him to work his Will. For it was so handled, that neither Prerogative, nor Profit went to Diminution. And yet as he would sometimes strain up his Laws to his Prerogative, so would he also let down his Prerogative to his Parliament. For Mint, and Wars, and Martial Discipline, (things of absolute Power) he would nevertheless bring to Parliament. Justice was well administred in his
time,

time, save where the King was Party: Save also, that the Council-Table intermeddled too much with Meum and Tuum. For it was a very Court of Justice during his time, especially in the Beginning. But in that part both of Justice and Policy, which is the Durable Part, and cut (as it were) in Brass or Marble (which is The making of good Laws) he did excell. And with his Justice, he was also a Merciful Prince, as in whose time, there were but three of the Nobility that suffered; the Earl of Warwick, the Lord Chamberlain, and the Lord Awdley. Though the first two were instead of Numbers, in the Dislike and Obloquie of the People. But there were never so great Rebellions, expiated with so little Blood, drawn by the hand of Justice, as the two Rebellions of Black-heath and Exceter. As for the Severity used upon those which were taken in Kent, it was but upon a Scum of People: His Pardons went ever both before, and after his Sword. But then he had withal a strange kind of Interchanging of large and unexpected Pardons, with severe Executions. Which (his wisdom considered) could not be imputed to any Inconstancy, or Inequality; but either to some Reason which we do not now know, or to a Principle he had set unto himself, That he would vary, and try both ways in turn. But the less Blood he drew, the more he took of Treasure. And (as some construed it) he was the more sparing in the One, that he might be the more pressing in the Other; for both would have been intolerable. Of Nature assuredly he coveted to accumulate Treasure, and was a little Poor in admiring Riches. The People (into whom there is infused, for the preservation of Monarchies, a natural Desire to discharge their Princes, though it be with the unjust charge of their Counsellors and Ministers) did impute this unto Cardinal Morton, and Sir Reginold Bray; who (as it after appeared) as Counsellors of ancient Authority with him, did so second his Humours, as nevertheless they did temper them. Whereas Empson, and Dudley that followed, being Persons that had no Reputation with him (otherwise than by the servile following of his Bent) did not give way only (as the first did) but shape him way to those Extremities, for which himself was touched with remorse at his Death, and which his Successor renounced, and sought to purge. This Excess of his, had at that time many Glosses and Interpretations. Some thought the continual Rebellions wherewith he had been vexed, had made him grow to hate his People. Some thought it was done to pull down their Stomachs, and to keep them low. Some, for that he would leave his Son a Golden-fleece. Some suspected he had some high Design upon Foreign parts. But those perhaps shall come nearest the truth, that fetch not their reasons so far off; but rather impute it to Nature, Age, Peace, and a Mind fixed upon no other Ambition or Pursuit. Whereunto I should add, that having every day Occasion to take notice of the Necessities and Shifts for Money of other great Princes abroad, it did the better (by Comparison) set off to him the Felicity of full Coffers. As to his expending of Treasure, he never spared Charge which his Affairs required; and in his Buildings was Magnificent, but his Rewards were

were very limited. So that his Liberality was rather upon his own State and Memory, than upon the Deserts of others.

He was of an High Mind, and loved his own Will, and his own Way; as One that revered himself, and would Reign indeed. Had he been a Private-man, he would have been termed Proud. But in a wise Prince, it was but keeping of Distance, which indeed he did towards all; not admitting any near or full Approach, neither to his Power or to his Secrets. For he was governed by none. His Queen notwithstanding she had presented him with divers Children, and with a Crown also, (though he would not acknowledge it) could do nothing with him. His Mother he revered much, heard little. For any Person agreeable to him for Society (such as was Hastings to King Edward the Fourth, or Charles Brandon after to King Henry the Eighth) he had none: Except we should account for such Persons, Fox, and Bray, and Empson, because they were so much with him. But it was but as the Instrument is much with the Work-man. He had nothing in him of Vain-glory, but yet kept State and Majesty to the height; Being sensible, That Majesty maketh the People bow, but Vain-glory boweth to them.

To his Confederates abroad he was Constant and Just, but not Open. But rather such was his Inquiry, and such his Closeness, as they stood in the Light towards him, and he stood in the Dark to them. Yet without Strangeness, but with a semblance of mutual Communication of Affairs. As for little Envies or Emulations upon Foreign Princes (which are frequent with many Kings) he had never any; but went substantially to his own Business. Certain it is, that though his Reputation was great at home, yet it was greater abroad. For Foreigners that could not see the Passages of Affairs, but made their Judgments upon the Issues of them, noted that he was ever in Strife, and ever Aloft. It grew also from the Airs, which the Princes and States abroad received from their Ambassadors and Agents here; which were attending the Court in great number. Whom he did not only content with Courtésie, Reward, and Privateness, but (upon such Conferences as passed with them) put them in Admiration, to find his Universal Insight into the Affairs of the world. Which though he did suck chiefly from themselves; yet that which he had gathered from them all, seemed Admirable to every one: So that they did write ever to their Superiours in high terms, concerning his Wisdom and Art of Rule. Nay, when they were returned, they did commonly maintain Intelligence with him. Such a Dexterity he had to improprieate to himself all Foreign Instruments.

He was careful and liberal to obtain good Intelligence from all parts abroad. wherein he did not only use his Interest in the Liegers here, and his Pensioners which he had both in the Court of Rome, and other the Courts of Christendom; but the Industry and Vigilancy of his own Ambassadors in Foreign parts. For which purpose, his Instructions were ever Extreme, Curious, and Articulate; and in them more

Articles

Articles touching Inquisition, than touching Negotiation. Requiring likewise from his Ambassadors an Answer, in particular distinct Articles, respectively to his Questions.

As for his secret Spials, which he did employ both at home and abroad, by them to discover what Practices and Conspiracies were against him, surely his Case required it: He had such Moles perpetually working and casting to undermine him. Neither can it be reprehended. For if Spials be lawful against lawful Enemies, much more against Conspirators and Traytors. But indeed to give them Credence by Oaths or Curses, that cannot be well maintained; for those are too holy Vestments for a Disguise. Yet surely there was this further Good in his employing of these Flies and Familiars; That as the use of them was cause that many Conspiracies were revealed, so the Fame and Suspicion of them kept (no doubt) many Conspiracies from being attempted.

Towards his Queen he was nothing Uxorious, nor scarce Indulgent; but Companiable, and Respective, and without Jealousie. Towards his Children he was full of Paternal Affection, Careful of their Education, aspiring to their High Advancement, regular to see that they should not want of any due Honour and Respect, but not greatly willing to cast any Popular Lustre upon them.

To his Council he did refer much, and sate oft in Person; knowing it to be the way to assist his Power, and inform his Judgment. In which respect also he was fairly patient of Liberty, both of Advice, and of Vote, till himself were declared. He kept a strait hand on his Nobility, and chose rather to advance Clergy-men and Lawyers, which were more Obsequious to him, but had less Interest in the People; which made for his Absoluteness, but not for his Safety. In so much as (I am perswaded) it was one of the Causes of his Troublesom Reign; for that his Nobles, though they were Loyal and Obedient, yet did not Co-operate with him, but let every man go his own way. He was not afraid of an Able Man, as Lewis the Eleventh was. But contrariwise, he was served by the Ablest Men that were to be found; without which his Affairs could not have prospered as they did. For War, Bedford, Oxford, Surrey, Dawbeney, Brook, Poynings. For other Affairs, Morton, Fox, Bray, the Prier of Lanthony, Warham, Urswick, Husley, Frowick, and others. Neither did he care how Cunning they were, that he did employ; For he thought himself to have the Master-Reach. And as he chose well, so he held them up well. For it is a strange thing, that though he were a Dark Prince, and infinitely Suspicious, and his Times full of Secret Conspiracies and Troubles; yet in Twenty-four Years Reign, he never put down, or discomposed Counsellor, or near Servant, save only Stanley, the Lord Chamberlain. As for the Disposition of his Subjects in General towards him, it stood thus with him; That of the Three Affections, which naturally tie the Hearts of the Subjects to their Sovereigns, Love, Fear, and Reverence; he had the last in height, the

the second in good measure, and so little of the first, as he was beholding to the other Two.

He was a Prince, Sad, Serious; and full of Thoughts, and secret Observations, and full of Notes and Memorials of his own hand, especially touching Persons. As whom to Employ, whom to Reward, whom to Enquire of, whom to Beware of, what were the Dependencies, what were the Factions, and the like; keeping (as it were) a Journal of his Thoughts. There is to this day a merry Tale; That his Monkey (set on as it was thought by one of his Chamber) tore his Principal Note-Book all to pieces, when by chance it lay forth. whereat the Court (which liked not those Pensive Accompts) was almost tickled with sport.

He was indeed full of Apprehensions and Suspitions. But as he did easily take them, so he did easily check them, and master them: whereby they were not dangerous, but troubled himself more than others. It is true, his Thoughts were so many, as they could not well always stand together; but that which did good one way, did hurt another. Neither did he at some times weigh them aright in their proportions. Certainly, that Rumour which did him so much mischief (That the Duke of York should be saved, and alive) was (at the first) of his own nourishing; because he would have more Reason not to reign in the Right of his Wife. He was Affable, and both Well and Fair-spoken, and would use strange Sweetness and Blandishments of Words, where he desired to effect or perswade anything that he took to heart. He was rather Studious than Learned; reading most Books that were of any worth, in the French Tongue. Yet he understood the Latin, as appeareth in that Cardinal Hadrian, and others, who could very well have written French, did use to write to him in Latin.

For his Pleasures, there is no News of them. And yet by his Instructions to Marlin and Stile, touching the Queen of Naples, it seemeth he could Interrogate well touching Beauty. He did by Pleasures, as great Princes do by Banquets, come and look a little upon them, and turn away. For never Prince was more wholly given to his Affairs, nor in them more of himself. In so much, as in Triumphs of Jufts and Tourneys, and Balls, and Marques (which they then called Disguises) he was rather a Princely and Gentle Spectator, than seemed much to be delighted.

No doubt, in him as in all men (and most of all in Kings) his Fortune wrought upon his Nature, and his Nature upon his Fortune. He attained to the Crown, not only from a private Fortune, which might endow him with Moderation; but also from the Fortune of an Exiled Man, which had quickned in him all Seeds of Observation and Industry. And his Times being rather Prosperous, than Calm, had raised his Confidence by Success, but almost marred his Nature by Troubles. His Wisdom, by often evading from Perils, was turned rather into a Dexterity to deliver himself from Dangers, when they pressed him, than into a Providence to prevent and remove them a far off. And even in Nature, the Sight of his Mind was like some Sights of Eyes; rather strong at hand, than to carry a far off. For his Wit

increased upon the Occasion; and so much the more, if the Occasion were sharpened by Danger. Again, whether it were the shortness of his Foresight, or the strength of his Will, or the dazeling of his Suspicions, or what it was; Certain it is, that the perpetual Troubles of his Fortunes (there being no more matter out of which they grew) could not have been without some great Defects, and main Errours in his Nature, Customs, and Proceedings, which he had enough to do to save and help, with a thousand little Industries and Watches. But those do best appear in the Story it self. Yet take him with all his Defects, if a Man should compare him with the Kings his Concurrents, in France and Spain, he shall find him more Politick than Lewis the Twelfth of France, and more Entire and Sincere than Ferdinando of Spain. But if you shall change Lewis the Twelfth, for Lewis the Eleventh, who lived a little before; then the Consort is more perfect. For that Lewis the Eleventh, Ferdinando, and Henry, may be esteemed for the Tres Magi of Kings of those Ages. To conclude, if this King did no greater matters, it was long of himself; for what he minded, he compassed.

He was a Comely Personage, a little above Just Stature, well and straight limmed, but slender. His Countenance was Reverend, and a little like a Church-man: And as it was not strange or dark, so neither was it Winning or Pleasing, but as the Face of one well disposed. But it was to the Disadvantage of the Painter; for it was best when he spake.

His Worth may bear a Tale or two, that may put upon him somewhat that may seem Divine. When the Lady Margaret his Mother had divers great Suitors for Marriage, she dreamed one Night, That one in the likeness of a Bishop, in Pontifical habit, did tender her Edmund Earl of Richmond (the King's Father) for her Husband. Neither had she ever any Child but the King, though she had three Husbands. One day when King Henry the Sixth, (whose Innocency gave him Holiness) was washing his hands at a great Feast, and cast his Eye upon King Henry, then a young Youth, he said; This is the Lad, that shall possess quietly that that we now strive for. But that that was truly Divine in him, was, that he had the Fortune of a True Christian, as well as of a Great King, in living Exercised, and dying Repentant. So as he had an happy Warfare in both Conflicts, both of Sin, and the Cross.

He was born at Pembroke-Castle, and lyeth buried at Westminster, in one of the Stateliest and Daintiest Monuments of Europe, both for the Chappel, and for the Sepulchre. So that he dwelleth more richly Dead, in the Monument of his Tomb, than he did Alive in Richmond, or any of his Palaces. I could wish he did the like, in this Monument of his Fame.

F I N I S.

A N N A L S
O F
E N G L A N D:

C O N T A I N I N G T H E R E I G N S

O F

{ H E N R Y the Eighth,
E D W A R D the Sixth,
Q U E E N M A R Y.

Written in *Latin* by the Right Honorable and Right Reverend Father in God,

F R A N C I S

Lord BISHOP of HEREFORD.

Thus *Englisbed*, Corrected, and Enlarged with the Author's consent,

B Y

M O R G A N G O D W Y N.

*Nec verbum verbo curabo reddere, fidus
Interpres. — Horat.*

L O N D O N,

Printed by W. G. for T. Bassett, J. Wright, and R. Chiswel.

M. DC. LXXV.

ANALYSIS
OF
ENGLAND

CONTAINING THE HISTORY

OF THE
REIGN OF
HENRY THE FIRST

BY
JOHN GILBERT

LONDON
PRINTED BY J. JOHNSON

IN THE STRAND, NEAR THE ROYAL EXCHANGE

MDCCLXXXV

By the Author

LONDON

Printed by W. G. for J. Johnson, and R. Clapham

M. DCC. LXXXV



The Translator's Dedication.

To the Right Honorable, the Lord
S C U D A M O R E,

V I S C O U N T S L E G O.

My Lord,



Lthough I have ever been averse from works of this nature, as desirous to know them in the Original, rather than in any after-taught Language, yet have I not unwillingly undergone the task of this Translation. It is an *English* History of those turbulent times, whereof no one hath written either so largely or freely as this Author, who intended it for the common good, whereof the meer *English*, without these or the like pains of some other would have been incapable. Your Lordship hath known it in the *Latin*, which Tongue you have naturalized. Wherefore this Dedication may seem needless.
But

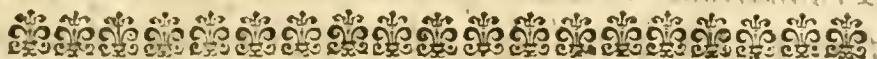
The Translator's Dedication.

But it is due to you as the work of your Servant, in which regard it craves your Honorable Patronage. It hath hitherto walked under Royal Protection. Other would not have befitted the Author of this ingenuous History, by the exemplified Miseries whereof the busie Spirits of these times may learn rightly to deem of our modern Happiness. But even small grievances in any *Part* make us insensible of the general good estate of the *Whole*. We will be ignorant of our good, and unhappy. As for these *Annals*, they have long passed with approbation. If they now distast, let the fault be the Translators, and the Pardon Yours; to whom alone my maiden pen sueth for favour, and to whose service dedicateth himself

Your Honours

most humbly devoted,

MORG. GODWYN.



The TRANSLATOR to the READER.

THe Author's Preface hath occasioned mine. Wherein it may be expected I should give a publick account of this action. I had once otherwise resolved. But it is the fashion. And therefore know (gentle Reader) that Evil is oft times the (accidental) cause of Good. Idleness invited me to the tryal of my Pen in some few loose sheets, which my fancy converted to the private use of a beloved Friend. Other end had I none. Sithence the Reverend Author hath been pleased to impose that as a serious task, which I had wantonly begun, Nature commanded duty and obedience, and so have I the glory of the time; To be in Print.

Sed dic, Posthume, de tribus capellis.

How doth the Author's Preface conduce to mine? Why thus. To many who perhaps will not at first consider, that this work is but a Translation, or seek advantages to expend their Censures, his may seem impertinent. But let them know, that these Annals were first written, In gratiam Exterorum Res nostras noscendi cupidorum. So much witnesseth the first Latin Edition. Peruse it and find it. I am but an Interpreter, of whom, I hope, thou wilt not expect a dictionary-
Transla-

The Translator to the Reader.

Translation. Neither quarrel the omission of some things, the knowledge whereof is to our Natives so innate, that now to insert them, were as bad as to farce with tautologies, and make this little Volume nauseous. Yet hath it lost nothing of its bulk, whatsoever it hath of its splendour; those defalcations being here and there in the course of the History supplied with not unnecessary additions, whereto the Author's approbation and consent was not wanting. As for errors of the Press, blame the Printer, not me. If thou by this reap either profit or pleasure, thank the Author, whose benefit it is that thou hast it; and that not tonguetied, but more than single-languaged. Good is of it self diffusive, and he participates so much of it, that he cannot endeavour an envious confinement of it. Farewel.

The Author's Epistle Dedicatory.

To my most Gracious Sovereign,

C H A R L E S,

King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland;

The most invict Defender of the Faith.

Most Royal Sir,



Hese Commentaries, containing the Acts of three Princes, began about some ten years since, under the Protection of Your most August Father to breathe the common air; and but for so Gracious an Aspect, had suffered even at the instant of their Birth. For the errours of the Press had made them such, as might have deterred even extreme Impudence from so presumptive a Dedication. Yet such as they were, they found Acceptance and Favour at His Royal Hands. Hence am I encouraged to consecrate this second (but corrected) Edition to

U

Your

The Author's Epistle Dedicatory.

Your Majesty, Who inherit as well Your Father's Virtues, as his Kingdoms. Neither indeed can it besit any other after KING *JAMES* of ever Sacred Memory. Most humbly therefore beseecheth Your Majesty to daign it the like Gracious Acceptance, who with the same Loyalty and Observance dediceth and consecrateth to Your Majesty himself and his,

Your Majesties

most humble

Chaplain,

FR. HEREF^D.

The AUTHOR's Preface to the READER.

AMong the many who have in Latin compiled the History of our Nation, Polydor Virgil in the opinion of most excelleth: not that he hath written either more truly or copiously, than many others; but more politely, and latest of any that have taken pains in this kind. For indeed it could not be, that a Foreiner, an Italian, well gone in years even at his first arrivall in England, (where being made Archdeacon of Wells, he long survived not) should not often erre in the delivery of our Affairs, and in regard of his mere ignorance in the English tongue, in silence bury many worthy passages recorded by our English Writers only. It being therefore to be wished, and is much desired, that some one versed in our Antiquities would (as Learned Master Camden hath already done for the description of the Island) consecrate part of his learned labours to the Eternity of Britain, not in reforming that obsolete Virgilian History, but in composing a new one: Our Antiquaries may justly be taxed of Sloth (I had almost said slothfulness) who had rather suffer the famous Acts of their Ancestors to dye eternally in silence, and so (as much as in them lieth) defraud their Countrey of its true and deserved Glory, than bestow any the least pains in commenting; that so the examples of most eminent Virtues (whereof the harvest here hath ever been most plentiful) might not want the Record of their due Monuments. This I hope some or other will in good time perform. In the mean time, others drawing back, alibough I was never endued with such eloquence, as that I should dare adventure the writing of an History (but now especially)

— vires ultra sortemque senectæ,
when having passed the age of fifty, long desuetude may have dulled my faculty of penning) yet have I thought

The Author's Preface to the Reader.

it might prove pains-worthy, to undertake briefly in three small Commentaries to set forth the deeds of three Princes, immediate Successors to Henry the Seventh, so far forth as I have had notice of them. And that, partly that by touching at the fountain (as they say) I might stir up the wits of others; partly that the desires of Foreigners might in some sort be satisfied, who not without cause complain, that these times, than which for a thousand years we have had none more memorable, in regard of their divers and remarkable changes, are not described by any, otherwise than slightly, and as if they had not intended any such thing. As for Polydor Virgil, he hath written either nothing or very little concerning them; and that little so false and misbecoming the ingenuity of an Historian, that he seemeth to have aimed at no other end, than by bitter invectives against Henry the Eighth and Cardinal Wolsey to demerit the favour of Queen Mary, already more than befitted incensed against both for the Divorce of her Mother. I have therefore written (friendly Reader) and so written, that although many things (I will not deny) conducing to an Historian may be wanting in me; yet am I confident, that this my endeavour will find acceptance with many. Other Writers may here have as it were a store-house, from whence they may (if I be not deceived) furnish themselves with some matter, which may help to raise an everlasting Monument. Foreigners also, ignorant of the English tongue, may have a taste of these times, until some one arise, who can and will compile a History of our Nation worthy the majesty of the British name. I have in this work been so observant of Impartiality, Simplicity, and Truth, that I fear nothing so much as a Domestick anger for not being pious enough, because I would not be over-pious. Many contend, that a good Prince should be *μη ποιεῖς, ἀλλ' ὑποπονέας*. This (I think) no man will affirm of an Historian, though some seem to opine it: So that he shall come short of his duty, either to God or his Countrey, who in the delivery of an History will not be at the least *ὑποπονέας* and who by affirming incertainties and known truths, shall not yield much

The Author's Preface to the Reader.

much to his affections, so they be joyned with the love of Religion and Countrey. But how much do they injure Truth, who from lies and falshood beg helps to underprop her? Avant. We have no need of them. And had we, yet would it not much profit us to rely on such weak advantages; one pious lye detected proving more hurtful, than a thousand others, although so artificially contrived that they avoid discovery, can prove profitable. For example whereof seek no farther than the Papists, whose feigned Miracles, Impostures, and Legends patched up of lyes have brought to pass, that even in those things which are true, they scarce gain belief. Wherefore, I am well content that Truth, which mangre her enemies will at length be every where victorious, shall prevail with me. I have done to my power. Politely, eloquently, politickly, I could not write; Truly, and fide Atticâ, as they say, I could. If I have done amiss in ought, it is not out of malice, but errour, which the gentle Reader will (I hope) pardon. This I earnestly intreat, withal beseeching the All-good and All-mighty God, that this my labour directed to no other end, than to his glory and the good of his Church, may attain its due, and by me desired success. Farewel.

ANNALS
OF
ENGLAND,

From the Year 1508, to the Year 1558.

BOOK I.

King HENRY the Eighth.

ANNO DOM. 1509. REG. I.



After the death of *Henry* the Seventh, his only Son, *Henry* Prince of *Wales*, undertook the Government of this Kingdom. He had then attained to the Age of Eighteen years, and was richly adorned with Endowments both of Body and Mind. For of Stature he was tall, of a beautiful Aspect, and of Form through all his age truly befitting a King: He was witty, docile, and naturally propense to Letters, until Pleasures (to which the Liberty of Sovereignty easily prompteth) did somewhat unseasonably withdraw him from his Studies; to these you may add, a Great Spirit, aspiring to the glory both of Fortitude and Munificence. This towardliness was so seconded by the happy care of his Tutors, that if the end of his Reign had been answerable to the beginning, *Henry* the Eighth might deservedly have been ranked amongst the greatest of our Kings. For if you consider his first Twenty years, you shall not easily find any one, that either more happily managed Affairs abroad, or Governed more wisely at home, or that bare greater sway among his Neighbour Princes. This I think ought chiefly to be ascribed to the providence of his wise Father,

1509.

Father, and his Grand-mother then still alive. For they took care, that he should have wise and virtuous Over-seers in his youth, by whose assistance having once passed the hazards thereof, he happily avoided those Rocks, whereon so many daily suffer wrack. But these either dying, or being so broken with age, that they could be no longer employed in affairs of State, and he himself being now come to those years, that commonly cast aside Modesty, (*Modesty, I say, the Guardian of that great Virtue,*) then making use of no *Counsellor* but his Will, he fell into those Vices, which notwithstanding the glory of his former Reign, branded him deeply with the foul stains of Luxury and Cruelty. But remitting those things to their proper places, those Worthies appointed his *Counsellors* were;

His Privy-
Council,

William Warham, *Archbishop of Canterbury, and Lord Chancellor of England.*

Richard Fox, *Bishop of Winchester.*

Thomas Ruthal, *Bishop of Durham.*

Thomas Howard, *Earl of Surrey, Lord Treasurer of England.*

George Talbot, *Earl of Shrewsbury.*

Lord Steward of the King's Household.

Charles Somerset, *Lord Chamberlain.*

Sir Thomas Lovel,

Sir Henry Wyat,

Sir Edward Poynings;

} *Knights.*

The Funerals of
K. Henry the
Seventh.

These men, the Solemnity of the dead King's Funeral being duly and magnificently performed, erected him a Tomb all of Brass, accounted one of the stateliest Monuments of *Europe*, which one would hardly conceive by the Bill of Accounts: For it is reported that it cost but a Thousand Pounds. The Monument is to be seen at *Westminster* (the usual place of our Kings Interrments) in that admirable Chappel dedicated to St. *Stephen*, by this King heretofore built from the ground, a testimony of his religious Piety. I have read, that this Chappel was raised to that height for the sum of Fourteen thousand Pounds, and no more; and that he at the same time built a Ship of an unusual burthen, called from him, *The great Henry*, which by that time it was rigged, cost little less than that stately Chappel. But now, O *Henry!* what is become of that Ship of thine? that other Work (besides the reward of Heaven) will perpetually proclaim thy pious Munificence. Hence learn, O Kings! that the true Trophies of Glory are not to be placed in Armories and Arsenals, but (and those more durable) in Pious Works. *Seek, first seek the Kingdom of God, and the righteousness thereof, and without doubt all other things shall be added unto you.*

St. Stephen's
Chappel.

But

But to go on in my proposed course, although *Henry* the Eighth began his Reign the two and twentieth of *April* 1509, his Coronation was deferred to the four and twentieth of *June*. In the mean time, his *Council* thought it would prove a profitable policy for the King to marry *Katherine* the Widow of Prince *Arthur*, his deceased Brother, and Daughter to *Ferdinand* King of *Castile*; for otherwise that huge mass of Money assigned for her Jointure must yearly be transported out of the Kingdom. Neither was there at first any other doubt made of this Match, than whether it were approved by the Ecclesiastical Constitutions, for as much as the Scripture (said some) forbade any man to marry his Brother's wife. But this rub was easily removed by the omnipotence of the Pope's Bull, in so much that presently upon the Dispensation of Pope *Julius*, on the third of *June*, under a malignant Constellation, the Nuptials of these Princes were solemnized, and they both Crowned the four and twentieth of *June* next following, being *St. John* Baptist's day. At these Solemnities there wanted neither pomp, nor acclamations of the Estates of the Realm. But to shew that of *Solomon* to be true, *The end of Mirth is Heaviness*; five days had not yet run their course since the Coronation, when *Margaret* Countess of *Richmond*, the King's Grand-mother, made an exchange of this life with death. She was a very godly and virtuous Lady; and one who for her benefits to the Estate, deserved with all honour to be commended to the perpetual memory of Posterity: But her ever-living Works will so far set forth her praise, that the pains of any Writer will prove altogether needless. Yet notwithstanding, omitting other things, it will savour somewhat of Ingratitude, if I should not recount what she hath conferred upon our Universities. She founded two Colledges at *Cambridge*; one dedicated to our Saviour CHRIST, and the other to *St. John* the Evangelist, and endowed them both with such large Revenues, that at this time besides Officers and Servants, there are about two hundred Students maintained in them: She also left Lands to both Universities, out of the Rents whereof, two Doctors, publick Professors of Divinity, to this day do receive their Annual Stipends. She lies interred near her Son, in a fair Tomb of *Touch-stone*, whereon lies her Image of gilded Brass.

1509.

The Coronation
of Henry the
Eighth.

His Marriage.

The death of
Lady Margaret,
Countess
of Richmond.

ANNO DOM. 1510. REG. 2.

HENRY the Seventh, Father to this our Eighth, some few years before his death had caused an inquisition to be made throughout the Kingdom, of the breach of the Penal Statutes, saying, That *Laws were to no purpose, unless the fear of Punishment did force men to observe them*. But the Inquisition proceeding so

1510.

Empson and
Dudley.

1510.

rigorously, that even the least faults were punished according to the Law, which inflicted a pecuniary Mulct; they that were touch'd (saith *Polydor Virgil*) cryed out, that this proceeded out of Covetousness, rather than Severity. But the wiser sort conceived the King's intent to be, partly to curb the fierce mind of the People, bred up in faction; partly, that by these Fines he might not only weaken the rich, but also increase his own strength, and fortifie himself against civil Attempts (whereof he had lately seen some sparkles flie abroad) if so be any smothered coal should happen to break out into a flame. What-ever the matter was, many there were, who by accusing others sought the King's favour, and enlarged their own Estates, amongst whom two were chief; the one was called *Richard Empson*, the other *Edmund Dudley*, both Lawyers, and both for having served the King's turn, lately made Barons of the Exchequer. It is said that *Empson* was born at *Torcester* in *Northampton-shire*, his Father was a Sievier. *Dudley*, though he were well descended, yet being not befriended by Fortune, long struggled with Adversity. But after they had some Months taken pains in these matters, both of them arise to that greatness, that there were few of the Nobility, that would not crouch to them, and be ambitious of their favour. Therefore it is not so much to be wondred at, if they grew exceeding wealthy: But this Wealth drew with it an Envy greater than it self, which nevertheless did them little hurt during the life of *Henry* the Seventh, but afterwards cast them both down as low as Envy could have wisht. The King upon his death-bed commanded in his Will and Testament, that restitution should be made to all, who had been wronged by the Exchequer. Whereupon infinite numbers flocking to the Court, and demanding restitution, there could not a fitter means be thought of to stop their mouthes, than by committing of *Empson* and *Dudley* the occasioners thereof, to the People, as Sacrifices to appease their fury. They were therefore arraigned and condemned of high Treason. And these things were done presently upon *Henry* the Eighth his coming to the Crown. So their goods being seized upon, they for a whole year endured the miseries, that usually accompany a Prison, and yet were the Commons as eager against them as ever. Whence it should first arise I know not, but such a report there was, that the Queen had begged the poor mens Pardons. The Nobility disdaining, that such mean fellows had been heretofore so prevalent with their Prince, and the Commons being easily incited against them by some as eager enemies to them as themselves, cried out, that they were cheated of their just revenge, and wearying the King with continual petitions for their death, he was in a manner forced to satisfy them. Whereupon on the seventeenth day of *August*, they were both publickly beheaded. Such was the end of *Empson* and *Dudley*,
who

who abounding with Wealth, and flourishing under their Prince's favour, while they set light by all things else, became a Sacrifice to the giddy multitude. And it may serve to teach us to use our power moderately, and to take heed how we give offence to that Beast with many heads (I mean the People) which being angred, and having once got the reins, rageth like a tumultuous Sea. *Dudley*, left behind him a Son named *John*, who, as if he had been heir to his Father's fortune, being created Duke of *Northumberland*, concluded his powerful life with the like unhappy end; leaving much Issue behind him, even to our time, but yet whereof the heirs male have long since failed.

1510.

A N N O D O M. 1511. R E G. 3.

THis year, on New-years-day the Queen was delivered of a Son, Heir-apparant to this Crown; but he out-lived not the three and twentieth of the ensuing *February*, to the great grief of the King and Kingdom.

1511.

About the same time there came Ambassadors from *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon*, who craved of the King his Son-in-Law fifteen hundred auxiliary Archers. He was then in hostility with the *Moors* inhabiting *Africk*. The King very willingly granted their request; and having levied the full number, embarked them for *Spain*, in four Ships of the Navy Royal, under the command of *Thomas* Lord *Darcy*. They were scarce arrived there, when news was brought, that a Peace being made, *Ferdinando* stood in no farther need of their aid. Yet every one was liberally paid, the General, and those of greatest note that accompanied him, were richly rewarded, and all being dismissed, with many thanks, safely returned home.

An Expedition
into Africk.

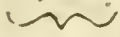
In their absence, *Margaret* Duchess of *Savoy* (who was Daughter to the Emperor *Maximilian*, and Governess of the *Netherlands* under *Charles* the Infant of *Spain*) prevailed with our King for the like number of Archers, she having then Wars with the Duke of *Gueldres*, against whom she meant to employ them. These men in the space of five Months did many brave exploits at *Brimmest*, *Aske*, and *Venloo*, under the command of Sir *Edward* *Poynings*, a brave Souldier, and in great favour with his Prince. Of them fourteen hundred returned home, much commended and well rewarded; the fortune of War had cut off one hundred. Four Captains in regard of their valour were Knighted by the Infant *Charles*, afterwards Emperor; viz. *John* *Norton*, *John* *Feg*, *John* *Scot*, and *Thomas* *Lynd*.

Into Gueldres.

The King of *Scots* had then War with the *Portugal*, under pretext whereof one *Andrew* *Barton*, a famous Pirat, took all Ships that coasted either *England* or *Scotland*, affirming them always

Barton, a Pi-
rat, taken.

1511.



to be *Portugals*, of what Nation soever they were, or at least fraught with *Portugal* Merchandise. The King sent *Edward Howard*, Lord Admiral of *England*, and his Brother the Lord *Thomas Howard*, eldest Son to the Earl of *Surrey*, with one *John Hopton* to take this Rover. When they had once found him out, after a long and bloody fight they took him alive (but mortally wounded) with his two Ships, and all his companions that survived the fight, and brought them to *London*.

ANNO DOM. 1512. REG. 4.

1512.



War with
France.

AS yet *Henry* had no War with any forein Prince, neither did the wiser sort wish that he should have any. But he, a young King, in the heat of one and twenty years, was transported with a vehement desire of War, which (saith the Proverb) is sweet to them that never tasted of it. Although he had about a year or two before made a League with *Lewis* the Twelfth of *France*, yet he was easily intreated by Pope *Julius* to renounce this Confederacy. This Pope, more like to that *Cesar*, whose Name he bare, than *Peter*, from whom he would fain derive his Succession, that like another *Nero*, sitting still he might from on high be a Spectator, while the whole World was on fire, had written Letters to our King, wherein he intreated his assistance towards the suppression of the *French*; who, without fear of God or man (these were the pretended Causes) had not only sacrilegiously laid hold on the Revenues of the Church, had caused Cardinal *William* to usurp the Papacy, had upheld *Alphonso* of *Ferara*, and the *Bentivogli* in Rebellion against him; but had also farther decreed, to make *Italy* the Theatre of his Tyranny. wherefore he conjured him by the Love of our Saviour, by the Piety of his Ancestors, whose aids were never wanting when the Church stood in need, and by the fast tie of Filial Obedience, that he would enter into the Holy League of the Estates of *Italy*, who had made choice of him for their General. Jealousie, and Reverence to the See of *Rome* so prevailed with him, that he easily condescended to the Pope's request. Yet that he might some way colour his action, he would needs interpose himself as Umpire between the Pope and the *French*, whom by his Ambassadors he intreats to lay aside Arms; withal not obscurely threatening, that if he did not so, he intended to undertake the defence of the Pope against him, the common disturber of the peace of Christendom. The *French* set light by this. Wherefore War is proclaimed by a Herald, the *French* King commanded to part with the Kingdom of *France*, and the Duchies of *Normandy* and *Aquitain*, which he without right unjustly usurped. Then entering into League with *Maximilian* the Emperor, the *Arragoncis*, and the Pope, they consult of assaulting the *French* with joynt forces.

forces. The *Arragonois* invites us into *Spain*, that thence we might invade *France*, promising besides certain Troops of Horse, store of Artillery, Wagons for carriage, Munition, and many other things necessary for such an Expedition. Our King relying on his Father-in-Law his promises, levies a great Army, whereof he ships one part for *Spain*, and employs the other by Sea. *Edward Howard*, Lord Admiral, had charge of the Sea forces, who fought with the *French Fleet* in the Bay of *Bretaigne*. In which Fight there was no memorable thing done, besides the combat of the two great Ships, (the one having seven hundred *English* in it, under the command of Sir *Thomas Knevet*; the other nine hundred *French*, under *Primauguet*, a *Briton*.) These Ships being both fast grappled, after a long fight fell both on fire, and were utterly consumed; not a man being saved, of whom it might be learned, whether this fire happened by chance, or were purposely kindled by a forced despair. Our other Army, under the command of the Lord *Thomas Gray*, Marquis of *Dorset*, amongst ten thousand tall *English* Souldiers, had five hundred *Germans*, under one *Guint*, a *Fleming*. This Army landed in *Biscay*, where they spent some Months in expectation of due performances from the *Arragonois*, who feeding them with promises only, tempered the heat of our Men, who were very eager upon the march for *France*. It happened that *Gaston of Foix*, Competitor for the Kingdom with *John King of Navarr*, dyed about the same time. The *Navarrois* had promised *Ferdinand* some aids toward this War. But now fearing no Competitor, he (whether out of inconstancy, or that he thought his affairs so required) secretly by his Agents makes a League with the *French*. Upon this *Ferdinand* turns his Arms upon the *Navarrois*, and strains all his strings to draw our men to the same attempt; but the Marquis of *Dorset* pleaded his Commission, beyond which he could not with safety proceed. The *Navarrois* was utterly unprovided, and the Nobility so divided into the factions of the *Egremonts* and the *Beaumonts*, that he could do nothing. It was bruited that two mighty Kings came against him with no less forces, what should he do? To hope from *France* were vain; the *French* were too far off, and deeply engaged in other Wars. At the approach of the *Spaniard* he quits his Kingdom, and with his Wife and Children flying over the *Pyrenean Mountains*, makes *Bèrn* his receptacle. *Ferdinand* having thus gotten a new Kingdom, casts off all farther thought of *France*, only intending the confirmation of his Conquest; to which end he intreats of *Henry* the help of our Forces raised for *France*, and prevails; but to no purpose. For the *English* having their Bodies inflamed with the intolerable heat of a strange Climate, and the drinking of strong Wines, dropt down every where; insomuch that we lost about a thousand (some say eighteen hundred) men in an instant. Wherefore impatient of farther delay, they force their

Com-

1512.

A fruitless
Voyage into
Spain.

The Spaniard
seizeth on Na-
varr.

1512.



Commanders to set sail homeward. The King was mightily enraged at their return, insomuch that he once thought to have punished them for their obstinacy: But the multitude of Delinquents proved a pardon to all. They did forth in *May*, and returned a little before *Christmas*.

ANNO DOM. 1513. REG. 5.

1513.



The Lord Admiral drowned.

ABOUT the beginning of this year the King assembled the high Court of Parliament, wherein War against *France* was determined, and a mighty mass of Money granted by the Commons. Whereupon, in the very beginning of the Spring a Fleet is set forth, consisting of two and forty Men of War, besides Victuallers, and lesser Vessels. The Lord Admiral, who had the charge of this Fleet, too too eagerly hunting after Honour, by his rashness frustrated the designs of so goodly preparations. He attempts to land in the Haven near adjoining to *Brest*, where striving in person to set foot first in the Enemies Countrey, he, with a Spear born over-board and drowned, was the only man of all that Fleet that came short home. He therein performed rather the part of a private Souldier, than of a Commander. For his death brought back this headless Fleet into *England*. Where the King makes the Lord *Thomas Howard* Admiral, in the place of his deceased younger Brother; exhorting him, by employing his service for his Countries honour, to revenge his Brother's inglorious death. This new Admiral with great speed brings his Navy out of Harbour, and scouring up and down the Seas, strook such a terour into the *French*, that not so much as a Fisher-boat durst peep abroad. At last he lands in *Whitsand-Bay*, ransacks all the Countrey thereabout, and without resistance returns safe to his Ships.

Terouenne besieged.

In the mean time the King having raised a mighty Army, arrives at *Calais* the last of *June*, with a Fleet of four hundred Sail. The one and twentieth of *July* he marcheth with all his forces into the *French* Territory; and having sent some Ensigns before to besiege *Terouenne* a City in *Picardy*, he takes his way thither, intending in person to sit down before it with all the strength of his Army. By the way he meets the *French* near *Dernom*: They at first seem resolved to fight; but whether they distrusted their own strength, and so purposely declined an unequal combat; or (as by our side it is reported) that our Ordnance being conveniently placed disordered them, and that so they betook themselves to flight, as if it had been all one for us to see them, and conquer them, away they went, and could not any where afterward be discerned by us. So without any let our Army came before *Terouenne*. This City had (according to the relation of our Writers)

four

four thousand Defendants, whereof six hundred were Horse. The place being so well fortified, it had been no hard matter to have defended it against a mighty Army, if so be they had been accordingly provided of other necessaries; but they were wanting. Wherefore they certified their King to what an exigent they were brought. But he had his hands full elsewhere. For the *Spaniard* had made an inroad into *Aquitain* and *Navarre*; and the *Suisses* having lately overthrown *Tremoville* at *Novarr*, had now coopt him up in *Dijon* in *Burgoigne*; insomuch that his Forces being by these occasions distracted, he himself had not under his Colours above twenty thousand Foot (the moiety whereof were *Lansquenets*, under the command of the Duke of *Guedres*) and two thousand five hundred Launces. With these he comes to *Amiens*, that the hope of Succours, he being so near, might encourage the Defendants. For it much concerned him that the Siege should be drawn out at length. In our Army were forty thousand Foot, and five thousand Horse, so that there was no likelihood of doing any good against us. Neither indeed did the *French* intend (especially at that time) to hazard the fortune of a Battel, the loss whereof, in the judgment of the more expert, would have been accompanied with no less than the loss of the Kingdom, which would easily have followed our Victory. The *French* King therefore sitting still at *Amiens*, lest he might seem to neglect such a City (the danger whereof did thoroughly grieve him) sends some Troops toward *Therouenne*, with instructions to put into the City eighty Horse-men compleatly armed (but without Horses, the besieged desiring no other aid) if possibly it could be effected, as it easily was, by reason of the negligence of our Centinels. For indeed the desuetude of a long Peace had made our men altogether unapt for War. But the indiscretion of the *French* far surpassed our negligence. For whereas with the same hazard they might have victualled the besieged, and furnished them with other necessaries which they wanted; desiring (but too late) to amend this errour, they would needs effect it the same way as before. But our men had by this time raised a new Fortification to hinder their entrance, and had withal placed in ambush store of Horse, with fifteen thousand Foot, to cut them off in their retreat. The *French* came near the Walls, but finding all entrance debarred, returned without suspicion of any intended mischief. They had not gone far, when some (as if they had been out of their Enemies reach) impatient of the heat, cast off their Helmets, some fell a drinking, most leave their Horses of service, and for their ease mount on little Nags. Our men charge them unawares, and without any resistance made, put them to rout. The *French* in this encounter lost three hundred Horse. There were taken Prisoners, *Lewis de Longueville* Marquis of *Rotelin*, *Badi*, *Clermont d'Anjou*, *Busby d'Amboise*, *Bayard*, *La Fayet*, and *Palisse* (who escaped out of Prison)

*The Battel of
Spurs.*

1513.

Therouenne
yielded.Maximilian
the Emperor
serveth under
King Henry.

Prison) with many others. It was then the opinion of most men, that this Victory (if we had but made due use of it) laid an easie way for us to the Conquest of *France*: For the *French* were so affrighted with the news of this overthrow, that they thought of nothing but flying; and the King himself with tears in his eyes bewailing his hard fortune, cast about for some place of refuge, and determined to pass into base *Bretaigne*. But we looking no farther than *Therouenne*, brought our Prisoners into the Camp, and without farther prosecution left the Enemies to their fears. The *French* call this *The Battel of Spurs*; because they trusted more to their Heels, than their Swords. The *Therouennois* after this overthrow despairing of Succour came to a Parley; and by the advice of their King, yield up the City the three and twentieth of *August*, upon condition, That the Souldiers might depart with Bag and Baggage, Colours flying, and Drums beating; and the Citizens permitted to carry away their goods.

A few days before the City was yielded *Maximilian* the Emperour came to our Camp, and (which deserves to be recorded to the eternal honour of our Nation) taking for pay a hundred Crowns a day, besides what was disbursed among his Souldiers, disdained not to serve under our Colours, wearing the Cross of *England*, and a party-coloured Rose, the usual Cognizance of our *English* Warfare. But he rather came to be a Spectator, than a Partaker in the danger. Wherefore when he saw into what straights our King was likely to drive the *French*, being weak, if he would press hard upon him, and pierce farther into the Kingdom; although he were a profest Enemy to the *French*, yet was he jealous of our prosperous proceeding; and therefore by all means perswaded *Henry*, To dismantle *Therouenne*, and thence to proceed to the Siege of *Tournay*: He blamed him (not without just cause) for his late setting forth, Summer being first well-near spent, Winter was now at hand, when it would not quit cost to maintain such an Army, good designs being not then to be put in execution: He told him, That *Therouenne* was so far from him, that it could not be kept without great difficulty; therefore he should do well to dismantle it, that it might not hereafter serve for a Bulwark to the the Enemy: That *Tournay* was a *French* City, but (like an Island with the Sea) surrounded with *Flanders* and *Hainault*, and far divided from the rest of *France*: True it was, that it was well stored with inhabitants, and not meanly fortified; but that there was no other Garrison, than of Citizens, and those he should find effeminate; and for Provision, that they had none: He should therefore make speed and come on them unawares, and with a few days siege force them to yield: That the *French* King, if he intended to succour them, must first march through all *Hainault*, and pass over two or three great Rivers, amongst which were the *Escaut* and the *Scarp*: That the Souldiers should find good booties there, and the King himself the triumph of a most assured Conquest:

That

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That the addition of such a City would be no mean increase of his Dominions, and so much the less care to be taken of it; for as much as it would be as easie for him to keep it in obedience, as it was for the French for the space of so many years to defend it, being placed amidst so many Enemies, that still had a greedy eye over it. King Henry by this time had so much of War, that he began to be weary of the toil thereof, and to cast his mind on the pleasures of the Court. Wherefore (although he wanted not Counsellors for the best) he followed the Emperour's advice, as being the more easie. The Flemings (who begged it of the King) had leave to raise the Walls of Therouenne, to fill the Ditches, and to burn all the Buildings except the Church, and the Chanons houses, which they (in regard of the dissentions usual to bordering Nations) very gladly performed.

Therouenne being thus taken and destroyed, away they march with all speed to *Tournay*, endeavouring by their celerity to prevent the fame of their coming. But the Citizens suspecting some such enterprize, had fortified themselves as well as the shortness of time would permit them; and the Peasants thereabouts bring all their goods into the City, as to a place of safeguard. The City was of no great circuit, yet at the beginning of the Siege it contained fourscore thousand People: by reason whereof Victuals began quickly to fail them, and they could no way hope for relief. The French King was far off, they had no Garrison, the Citizens bad Soldiers, two great Princes had begirt the Town with fifty thousand men; but they had an Enemy within, called Famine, more cruel and insupportable, than both. So having for some few days held out the Siege, the nine and Twentieth of September their lives being granted them, they yield; and to save themselves from spoil, pay a hundred thousand Crowns. The King makes them swear Fealty to him, and appoints Sir *Edward Poyning*, a Knight of the Garter, their Governour. Next he gives order for store of Warlike provision, puts in a small Garrison; and builds a Cittadel for the confirmation of his Conquest. Neither amongst these Politick affairs did he neglect those of the Church. For the Bishop being proscribed, he confers the See with all the revenues, upon *Thomas Wolsey*, of whose first rising and immoderate Power we shall have much occasion to speak hereafter.

All things being thus ordered, because Winter came on apace, he began to bethink himself of returning with his Army into *England*. This thought so far pleased him, that having been absent scarce four Months he took Ship, and about the end of October came home triumphing in the Glory of a double Conquest.

By the way he was entertained with the news of another Victory, the Lord *Howard* Earl of *Surrey* having under his Fortune

Y

slain

The Siege of
Tournay.

Tournay
yielded

Wolsey Bishop
of Tournay.

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The King of
Scots slain.

slain the King of Scots. The King of France being encumbered with many Wars, had conjured James the Fourth King of Scots, By the ancient Laws of Amity, and the late League made between them, that He would not forsake him, entangled in so many difficulties. If He regarded not his Friend's case, yet he should at least look to Himself; for whom it would not be safe to suffer a bordering Nation, always at enmity with Him, by such additions to arise to that height of power. The King of England busied with a foreign War was now absent, and with Him the flower of the English Chivalry: He should therefore forthwith take Arms, and try to recover Berwick, an especial Town of the Scottish Dominions, but for many years withheld by the English; He would easily be victorious, if He would but make use of this occasion so happily offered. It could not be, but this war would be for His Honour, and profitable to His Friend, if not to Himself: He should thereby also make known to His Enemies, that the Scottish Arms were not to be contemned, whose former Victories a long, and (to them) hurtful Peace had obscured, and buried in oblivion among the English. As for the charges of it, He need not be troubled, for that he would afford Him fifty thousand Crowns towards the providing of Munition and Ordnance.

These Reasons so prevailed with the young King covetous of glory, that notwithstanding he had lately made a League with our King, whose Sister he had married, and her vehement dissuasions, he proclaimed War against Henry, which proved fatal to him, bloody to his, and the cause of many ensuing calamities. So having raised a great Army, he breaks into our Marches, and besiegeth Norham-Castle belonging to the Bishop of Durham, the which having held out six days was at last yielded unto him. Thence he removes his Camp to Berwick, waisting all the Countrey as he marcht with Fire and Sword. The news whereof are brought unto them, to whom the government of the Kingdom was committed in the absence of the King; and a levy being made through all the North parts of the Kingdom, Alnewike is appointed the rendezvous, where all the Troops should meet at a set day, that thence they might set forward against the Enemy, under the conduct of the Lord Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey. Among the first (to his Father's great joy) comes the Earl's Son Thomas Lord Admiral, leading a veteran Troop of five thousand men of tryed valour, and haughty in regard of their former Naval Victories obtained under the command of this young Lord. After him came the Lords Dacres, Clifford, Scrope, Latimer, Conyers, Lumley, and Ogle, besides Sir Nicholas Appleyard, Master of the Ordnance, Sir W. Percie, Sir William Sidney, Sir William Bulmer, Sir John Stanley, Sir William Molineux, Sir Thomas Strangways, Sir Richard Tempest, and many other Knights.

These sitting in Council, thought it best to send an Herald to the King, to expostulate with him concerning the outrages committed: to complain, that He had without all right or reason spoiled the Countrey
of

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of a Prince not only Allied unto him, but also his Confederate; and therefore to certifie him, that they were ready by Battel to revenge the breach of League, if so be he durst await their coming but a few days, in a ground that might be fitting for the meeting of both Armies. The King makes answer by writing; wherein *He retorts the violation of the League, calling God to witnes, that King Henry had first by his many injuries shewn evident signs of an alienated mind. For the English (he pretended) robbed all along the Marches of Scotland, without restitution or punishment: Andrew Barton, a stout and honest man, had been unjustly slain by the King's command; and one Heron, who had murdered Robert Carr a Scottish Noble-man, vaunted himself openly in England, the King taking no notice of so heinous a fact: Of these things he had often complained by his Ambassadors, but without effect. There was therefore no other way for him, but to betake himself to Arms for the common defence of himself, and his Kingdom, against the King's injustice.* As for the meeting, he signified that he accepted of it; and appointed both time and place for the Battel.

Flodden-Field.

Neither party failed the prefixed day. The Scot seeks to animate his men by taking away all hope of safeguard by flight, commanding them (I know not how wisely, but the event shewed how unhappily for them) to forsake their Horses, forasmuch as they were to trust to their Hands, not to their Horses heels; and by his own example shewing what he would have done, he alights, and prepares himself to fight on foot. The rest doing the like, the whole Army encountred us on foot, to whom, after a long and bloody fight; the fortune of the Victory inclined. The Scots had two and twenty pieces of great Ordnance, which stood them in no stead. For our men climbing up a Hill where the Enemy sat hovering over us, the shot passed over our heads. Our chief strength were our Archers; who so incessantly played upon four Wings of Scots (for the King divided his Army into five Battalions) that were but lightly armed; that they forced them to flie and leave their fellows; who yet stood stoutly to it. But the main Battel, where the King was, consisting of choice men, and better armed against our shot; was not so easily defeated. For the Scots, although they being inclosed as it were in a toyl, were forced to fight in a ring, made most desperate resistance, and that without doubt so much the rather, because they not only heard their King encouraging them, but saw him also manfully fighting in the foremost Ranks, until having received wound upon wound he fell down dead. They say there fell with him the Archbishop of St. Andrews his natural Son; two other Bishops; two Abbots; twelve Earls, seventeen Barons; and of common Souldiers eight thousand. The number of the Captives is thought to have been as many. They lost all their Ordnance, and almost all their Ensigns: insomuch that the Victory was to be esteemed a very great one; but that it was

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somewhat bloody to us in the loss of fifteen hundred. This Field was fought the ninth of *September*, near *Flodon-Hill*, upon a rising Bank called *Piperdi*, not far from *Bramston*.

I am not ignorant, that the *Scottish* Writers constantly affirm the King was not slain in the field, but having saved himself by flight, was afterwards killed by his own people; and that the Body which was brought into *England* was not the King's, but of one *Alexander Elfinston*, a young Gentleman resembling the King both in visage and stature, whom the King (that he might delude those that pursued him, and might as with his own presence animate them that fought elsewhere) had caused with all tokens of Royalty to be armed and apparrelled like himself. But to let pass the great number of Nobility, whose carcases found about him sufficiently testify, that they guarded their true King, and consequently that the counterfeit fought else-where: It is manifest that his Body was known by many of the Captives, who certainly affirmed, that it could be no other than the King's, although by the multitude of wounds it were much defaced. For his Neck was opened to the midst with a wide wound, his left Hand almost cut off in two places, did scarce hang to his Arm, and the Archers had shot him in many parts of his body.

Thus was *James* the Fourth King of *Scots* taken away in the flower of his youth, who truly in regard of his Princely Virtues deserved a longer life. For he had a quick wit, and a majestic countenance: he was of a great spirit, courteous, mild, liberal, and so merciful, that it was observed he was often forced against his will to punish offenders. These virtues endeared him to his People in his life time, and made them so much lament the loss of him being dead, that (as all Historians report) they seemed to have lost only him in the whole succession of their Kings, which sufficiently argues the improbability of the Subjects pretended Parricide.

But he had not fallen into this misery, if he would have hearkned to the advice of those, who perswaded him to have returned home before the Fight, contented with what he had already performed in the Expedition: that he should not upon so weak forces hazard the estate of his Kingdom: he had won glory enough, and abundantly fulfilled his Friends request. But the *French* Agent, and some of the King's Mignons corrupted by the *French* urging to the contrary, this haughty Prince, even otherwise very desirous to give proof of his valour, was easily perswaded to await our great Forces already marching. His Body (if at least that were his, and not *Elfinston's*) being enclosed in Lead, and brought into *England*, was by our King's (I will not say cruel, but certainly inhumane) command cast in some by-corner or other, without due Funeral Rites, saying, that *It was a due punishment for one who had perjurously broken his League*; whereas if

if we examine the premisses, we shall find he wanted not probable pretexts for what he undertook.

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ANNO DOM. 1514. REG. 6.

1514.

The descent and
Honours of the
Howards.

THE next year having begun his course, *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Surrey* (he who had been victorious over the *Scots*) was created Duke of *Norfolk*, the title and dignity of his Ancestors. *John* his Father deriving his pedigree from *Thomas de Brotherton*, Son to King *Edward* the First; the *Segraves* and the *Monbrays* (who had been all Dukes of *Norfolk*) enjoyed this Honour by right of Inheritance. But because in *Bosworth-Field* (where here he was slain) he took part with the Usurper, both he and his Posterity were deprived of that Honour. This *Thomas* dying in the year 1524, his Son of the same name succeeded him, who deceased in the year 1554. His Son *Henry* (a young Lord of great hopes) his Father then living was beheaded towards the end of this King's Reign. He left Issue *Thomas* the last Duke of *Norfolk* (who also lost his Head the year 1572) and *Henry* (at nurse when his Father dyed) a very learned and wise man, whom King *James* (no good man repining thereat) created Earl of *Northampton*. *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk* had three Sons that survived him, *Philip*, *Thomas*, and *William*. *Philip* Earl of *Surrey* (and by his Mother, of *Arundel*) condemned the year 1589, and after dying in prison, left Issue *Thomas*, then a little one, who by King *James* his favour succeeded his Father in his Honours. His Uncle *Thomas* out of the same fountain of Royal Goodness was created Earl of *Suffolk*, with addition of the dignity of Lord Chamberlain. Beside these, this Family hath *Charles* Earl of *Nottingham*, Lord Admiral of *England*, Nephew by the Lord *William* his Father, to *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, that famous Triumpher over the *Scots*. This is he, who in emulation of his Grandfather's glory, in the year 1588, under the fortune of Queen *Elizabeth*, most happily overthrew that vainly called *Invincible Armada* of *Spain*. *Thomas* also Viscount *Bindon* is derived from *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, by his Son the Lord *Thomas*. So this noble House lately afflicted, now gloriously flourishing, hath four Earls and a Viscount, all brave and famous men, and of whom there will be occasion of much to be spoken hereafter: I therefore thought it good in brief to set down their Genealogy, lest I should trouble the Reader with too often repetition of their Race upon each mention of the Name. At the time of this Duke's creation, others were also honored with new Titles; *Charles Brandon* made Duke of *Suffolk*, and *Charles Spenser* Earl of *Worcester*, and *Edward Stanley* Lord *Mountegle*, Sir *William Brandon* Standard-bearer to *Henry* the Seventh in *Bosworth-Field*, and there slain by the hand of

Charles Brandon,
Duke of
Suffolk.

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Charles Somers-
er, Earl of
Worcester.

of *Richard* the Third, was Father to this new Duke of *Suffolk*, of whose Education (he then a little one) King *Henry* having obtained the Crown was very careful, and made him rather a Companion than a Servant to the young Prince, of whose household he was. The Prince so greatly favoured him, partly for his Father's deserts, chiefly for his own, that he being afterward King, created him Viscount *Lisle*, and intending (at least many were so persuaded) to give him to Wife the Lady *Mary* his Sister, who afterward was married to the King of *France*; thought it first good to honour him with the Duchy of *Suffolk*, which this year at the feast of *Candlemas* was performed. But how he was frustrated of his hopes, and afterward beyond all hope enjoyed her, shall be declared hereafter. *Somerset*, the natural Son of *Henry* of the House of *Lancaster*, the last Duke of *Somerset*, took his surname of his Father's Honour; whereas he should have been called *Beaufort*, or rather *Plantagenet*, according to the ancient name of our *English* Kings: He being Cousin-german to *Henry* the Seventh (whose Mother was *Margaret*, Sister to the Duke of *Somerset*) and famous for his many Virtues, of which that King was a quick and exact Judge, and was by him made Lord High Chamberlain of *England*. But having behaved himself very valiantly in this last Expedition against the *French* (wherein *Gucciardin* untruly reporteth him to have been slain) *Henry* the Eighth added this new Title (which his Posterity still enjoys) to his ancient Honours. He was great Grandfather by his Son *Henry* and Nephew *William*, to *Edward* the now Earl, who being one of His Majesties most Honorable Privy Council, and Lord Privy Seal, doth by his virtues much more ennoble his so noble Ancestors.

The *French* King hearing of the overthrow of the *Scots*, perceiving himself deprived of such a Friend and Confederate, seeing his Kingdom on fire about his ears, and none to rely upon but himself, determined (if so he might fairly and with credit) to renew his League with us. Pope *Julius* the Second, the Incendiary of Christendom was lately dead, and the *French* King himself was now a Widower. He therefore intends to try whether by marrying the Lady *Mary* the King's Sister, he might secure himself from War on our side, and by so near alliance gain the assured Friendship of so potent a Prince. *Leo* the Tenth succeeding *Julius* the Second, did openly side with the *French* against the *Spaniard*. He therefore earnestly soliciting a reconciliation; a Peace was concluded profitable to the *French*, acceptable to us, and on the ninth of *October* the Nuptials were with great pomp solemnized. The *French* King was well stricken in years, his Wife a tender Virgin of some sixteen or eighteen years of age, but wonderful beautiful. Besides the forementioned reasons, the desire of Children (for he had no Male Issue) on his part, on her part the good of the publick weal, the authority of her Brother so willing, and (which

Peace with
France.

The Lady *Mary*
the King's Sister,
married to
Lewis the
Twelfth, King
of France.

(which bears chiefest sway in a Womans heart) the supremacy of Honour in the title of a Queen, were motives to march to uneven a Pair. But many not without cause were persuaded, that she had rather have made choice of *Brandon* for her Husband (so her power had been answerable to her will) than the greatest Monarch in the World: neither was it long before she enjoyed her desire. For the King (as it often happens to elderly Men, that apply themselves to young Women) dyed the last of *February*, having scarce three Months survived his Wedding. The Queen might then lawfully, according to the Articles of agreement, return into *England*, which she earnestly desiring, the Duke of *Suffolk* was sent to conduct her; who becoming a fresh Suitor unto her, so far easily prevailed, that before their departure from *Paris*, they were there privately married. The Marriage was afterward by the King's consent celebrated at *Greenwich*, the thirteenth day of *May* of the ensuing year.

Cardinal
Wolsey.

And now we must speak something of *Wolsey's* sudden and (for these our times) incredible rising, who having (as we have related before) been invested in the Bishoprick of *Tournay*, was within the year preferred to two other Bishopricks. That venerable Bishop of *Lincoln*, *William Smith*, was lately deceased; who beside many other Monuments of his Piety, having begun in *Oxford* a College for Students, called *Brazen-nose-College*, was immaturesly taken away before he could finish so good a work. So the See being vacant, it is conferred on *Wolsey*, now high in the King's favour. He was of very mean parentage (a Butcher's Son) and *Ipswich* (a Town in *Suffolk*, but of *Norwich* Diocess) where he afterward laid the foundation of a stately College, was the place of his Birth. He was brought up at *Oxford*, in *Magdalen-College*, and afterward became Master of the Free-School thereto belonging. Among other Scholars, the Sons of the Marquess of *Dorset* were committed to his trust, and for his care over them, the Parsonage of *Limington* in *Somersetshire* (no very mean one) was bestowed on him. As soon as he had set footing there, he was very disgracefully entertained by Sir *Amias Powlet*, who clapt him in the Stocks, a punishment not usually inflicted upon any but Beggars and base people. What the matter was that so exasperated him against *Wolsey*, a man not of least account, I know not: This I know, that *Wolsey* being afterward made Cardinal, and Lord Chancellor of *England*, so grievously punished this injury, that Sir *Amias Powlet* was fain to dance attendance at *London* some years, and by all manner of obsequiousness to curry favour with him. There remains to this day a sufficient testimony hereof in a Building over the Gate of the *Middle Temple* in *London*, built by the Knight at the time of his attendance there, and decked round about very sumptuously with the Cardinal's Arms, hoping thereby somewhat to allay the wrath of the incensed

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incensed Prelate. But these things were long after this year. *wolfey*, whether that he could not brook this disgrace, or bearing a mind that lookt beyond this poor Benefice, left it, and became domestick Chaplain to Sir *John Nafant* Treasurer of *Calais*, by whose means he was taken notice of by *Fox* Bishop of *Winchester*, a man that knew rightly how to judge of good wits. He finding this young man to be very sprightful, of Learning sufficient, and very active in dispatch of Affairs, so highly commended him to King *Henry* the Seventh, (who relied much upon *Fox*'s faith and wisdom) that he thought it good forthwith to employ him in Affairs of great moment. What need many words? he so far pleased the King, that in short time he became a great man, and was first preferr'd to the Deanry of *Lincoln*, and then made the King's Almoner. But *Henry* the Eighth, a young Prince, coming to the Crown, was wholly taken with his smooth tongue and pliable behaviour. For when all the rest of his friends advised him to sit every day in person at the Council-Table, that so by experience and daily practice he might reap Wisdom, and to accustom himself to the managing of Affairs of Estate: *wolfey* advised him to follow his Pleasures; saying, *That his Youth would not be able to brook their tedious Consultations; every Age of man had its Seasons, and Delights agreeable. They did not do well, that would force the King to act an Old man before his time, Youth being utterly averse from wrinkled Severity. It would come to pass hereafter, if God were so pleased, that what was now troublesome to him, would not be disagreeable to riper years, nay prove perhaps a great pleasure. Until that time came, he should enjoy the present, and not by hearkning to others needless persuasions, any way interrupt the course of that felicity which the largeness of his Dominions would easily afford him. He should hawk and hunt, and as much as him list use honest Recreations. If so be he did at any time desire suddenly to become an Old man by intermeddling with Old mens Cares, he should not want those (meaning himself) that would in the evening in one or two words relate unto him the effect of a whole days Consultation.* This speech hitting so pat with the King's humour, made *wolfey* so powerful, that whereas the King before favoured him as much as any other; he only was now in favour with and next the King, with whom there was nothing to be done but by him. For he was the man that was made choice of, who like another *Mercury* should pass between this our *Jove*, and the Senate of the lesser Gods, offering their petitions to him, and to them returning his pleasure therein. Wherefore he was even at the first sworn of the Privy Council, and besides the late collation of *Tournay*, upon the death of *Smith* he was also made Bishop of *Lincoln*. In the government of which Church he had not fully spent six months, before he was translated from *Lincoln* to the Archbishoprick of *York*, then vacant by the death of Cardinal *Bambridge* at *Rome*. Shortly after, (that I may

at

at once shew all his Honours) *William Warham* Archbishop of *Ganterbury* leaving the place, he was by the King made Lord Chancellor of *England*, and by the Pope Legate à *latere*. Yet he stayed not there; but as if the Archbishoprick of *York*, and the Chancellorship of *England* had not been sufficient to maintain the port of a Cardinal, besides many other Livings he procured of the King the Abbey of *St. Albans*, and the Bishoprick of *Bath* and *Wells*. And not content with these, leaving *Bath* and *Wells*, he addeth the Bishoprick of *Durham* to that of *York*, and then leaving *Durham* seizeth on *Winchester*, at that time of greatest revenue of any Bishoprick in *England*. You now see *Walsley* in his height, rich, his Prince's Favourite, and from the bottom raised to the top of Fortunes Wheel. What became of him afterward you shall know hereafter.

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ANNO DOM. 1515. REG. 7.

THE League lately made with *Lewis* the *French* King; was confirmed by *Francis* his Successor, and published by Proclamation in *London*, the ninth day of *April*.

1515.

ANNO DOM. 1516. REG. 8.

BUT the *French* King having taken into his protection the young King of *Scots*, sent *John Stuart* Duke of *Albany* into *Scotland*, to be Governour both of the King's Person and Kingdom. The first thing this Duke undertook, was; either to put to death or banish those, whom he any way suspected to favour the *English*. Insomuch, that the Queen Dowager (who by this time was married to *Archibald Douglas* Earl of *Angus*) forced to save her self by flight, came into *England* to her Brother, with whom she stayed at *London* a whole year; the Earl her Husband after a month or two without leave returning into *Scotland*. King *Henry* being displeased at these *French* practices, deals underhand with the Emperour *Maximilian* (with whom the *French* then contended for the Duchy of *Milan*) and lends him a great summ of Money, whereby he might hire the *Suisses* to aid him in the expelling the *French* out of *Italy*. But the Emperour, although he had levied a sufficient Army, returned home without doing any thing. He was indeed accounted a wise Prince, but unhappy in the managing of his Affairs: whether it were that Fortune waiwardly opposed him, or that he was naturally slow in the execution of his well-plotted Designs. But shortly after he intends a second tryal of his Fortune. Wherefore by his Ambassador the Cardinal of *Suisseland*, he yet borrows more Money of the King, which

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A breach with
France.

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was delivered to certain Merchants of *Genoa*, to be by a set day paid to the Emperour in *Italy*. But they, whether corrupted by the *French*, or not of sufficient ability to make return, deceived him; and so his second designs vanished also into air. I do not think it was the King's fault, although we might justly suspect, that the great Treasure left him by his Father being almost spent, and the *French* secretly offering Peace upon good terms, the friendship between him and the Emperour, which he had so dearly purchased, began at length to grow cold. Certainly (to speak nothing of the League which was afterwards concluded with *France*) the Treasury was now grown so bare, that the King was driven to invent new ways for the raising of Money. The care of this business (as almost of all others) was committed to Cardinal *Wolsey*, who casting up the Exchequer-Accompts, found many deeply indebted to the King; and (whether by the negligence or treachery of the Officers) never yet called to account. Among others, the Duke of *Suffolk* was found to be a great debtor, who besides his own Revenues, received yearly out of *France* his Wives Jointure, amounting to sixty thousand Crowns. Yet notwithstanding he was fain to withdraw himself from Court, that by living thriftily in the Countrey, he might have wherewith to pay this debt. The Cardinal next bethinks himself of publick Misdemeanors of what sort soever: as Perjury, Rapes, Oppression of the Poor, Riots, and the like; the Offenders without respect of degree or persons, he either publicly punished in Body, or set round Fines on their heads. By which means the Treasury (before empty) was replenished, and the Cardinal by the people much applauded for his Justice. These things having thus succeeded to his mind, he undertakes more in the same kind. He institutes a new Court, where the Lords of the Privy Council, with other of the Nobility should sit as Judges. The aforesaid Crimes, which then greatly reigned in this Kingdom, and were punishable in this Court, which (as I conjecture) from the Stars painted in the roof is called the *Star-Chamber*. He created also the Court of *Requests*, where the complaints of the Poor were to be heard; and ordained many other things in the Civil government of the Kingdom, that were acceptable to the People, and are in use at this day, wherein he alike manifested his wisdom and love of his Countrey. Certainly they that lived in that Age would not stick to say, That this Kingdom never flourished more, than when *Wolsey* did, to whose Wisdom they attributed the Wealth and Safety that they enjoyed, and the due Administration of Justice to all without exception.

The Star-
Chamber,

and

The Court of
Requests, in-
stituted by
Wolsey.

ANNO

ANNO DOM. 1517. REG. 9.

1517.

18 May-day.

THE Spring growing on, the fear of a Commotion in *London* increased with the year. The original and success whereof I will lay open at large, forasmuch as Enormities of this nature, by our wholesom Laws severely restrained, are so rare, that I remember, when I was a child, old men would reckon their Age from this day, by the name of Ill *May-day*. Long Peace having with us begate Plenty, the Mother and Nurse both of good and bad Arts, allured the most excellent Artificers of foreign Nations to partake of our happiness, by frequenting the City of *London*. But the giddy multitude not conceiving what good became of communicating their skill unto us, took it very heinously, that Strangers should be permitted to enjoy the Priviledges of the City; and our home-bred Artificers did most especially complain, That their means were every day curtailed, for as much as no small part was necessarily to be defalked for the maintenance of these Strangers. This was now grown the common discourse, and had gon so far, that one *Lincoln*, a ringleader of this tumultuous rout, did not stick to persuade some Preachers, publickly in the Pulpit to lay open these common grievances before the Estates of the Realm. Our Ladies Hospital in *London*, commonly called the *Spittle*, is famous for the *Easter-Sermons*; one of which was to be preached by Dr. *Henry Standish* (afterward Bishop of *St. Asaph*) a grave and learned man. *Lincoln* had assayed him, and had the denial, as in a matter, the very mention whereof a good Patriot should abhor. But Dr. *Bell*, a Divine who was after *Standish* to preach in the same Place; without fear or wit seconding their seditious attempts, did publickly in his Sermon read the Bill by them exhibited to him, taking for his Text that of the Prophet in the hundred and fiftenth Psalm: *The heavens, even the heavens are the Lords; but he hath given the earth to the sons of men*: Thence most foolishly concluding, that *England* was given to *English-men* only, and that therefore it was not to be endured, that Aliens should enjoy any part thereof. Many things by him spoken to this purpose, were accepted with great applause and approbation of the Vulgar, who out of extreme hatred to Strangers, breathed nothing but sedition. And to add more fuel to this fire, it happened that many outrages were about that time committed by some of these Strangers. This evil then thus spreading it self, Foreigners were every where ill intreated, and commonly knockt down in the streets, having not offered injury to any man. The authors of these riots being by the Lord Mayor committed to prison, a sudden rumor ran through the City, That on *May-day* next all Strangers should be massacred. This without doubt proceeded from some of this unruly crew, and was intended

1517.

as a watch-word to all the Faction; but the Strangers made so good use of it, that they had all withdrawn themselves before that time, and the Magistrates very carefully attended each occasion, endeavouring to crush all Tumultuous Designs in the shell. On *May-day-Eve* therefore (the next day being the Feast of the Apostles *Philip* and *Jacob*, the solemnity thereof is usually augmented by the liberty granted to the younger sort to sport themselves and to make merry) the Citizens in general are by Proclamation commanded to keep fast their doors, and to restrain their Servants from going abroad until nine of the Clock the next day. But before this had been thoroughly proclaimed, an Alderman walking in the streets, saw a troop of young men consisting of Apprentices and such like gathered together, and playing at cudgels. He sharply reprov'd them for not obeying the King's Edict, withal threatening to punish them, if they the sooner betook not themselves every one to his home. Words not prevailing, he laid hold on one or two, intending to have committed them. But what reckoning they made of Authority, their resistance in rescue of their Companions shewed; and by outcries giving an Alarm, drew together all the rest of their Faction in that quarter of the City. The fame of this hurliburly increased their numbers, by sending Mariners, Gentlemens Servants, Beggars, and Citizens, but the greatest part were Apprentices. Sedition like a torrent carried them headlong, and animated them to all villany. They break open the Prisons, set those at liberty, that were imprisoned for their outrages on Strangers, flie about the City as in a whirlwind, rob all Foreiners houses, and not content with their goods, seek after them for their lives. They found their nests, but the birds were fled. Having thus spent the night, in the morning hearing the King's forces to approach, most of them slipt away, only some three hundred remained (whereof eleven were Women) and being apprehended, supplied their places, whom they before had freed. They were all arraigned, only thirteen designed for death, whereof, nine suffered on divers Gibbets purposely erected in divers parts of the City. *Lincoln*, *Sherwin*, and two Brethren named *Bets*, Chieftains in this sedition, were carried to *Cheapside*, where *Lincoln* was deservedly hanged. The Executioner ready to turn off another, was prevented by the King's gracious Pardon. The mind of man being prone to pity, we may imagine, that others were well pleased at the news; but certainly the condemned had cause to rejoyce. The Queens of *England*, the two Dowagers of *France* and *Scotland* (both of them the King's Sisters, and then at Court) became incessant Petitioners to his Majesty, and on their knees, in the behalf of these condemned persons: and at length, *Wolsey* consenting (by whom the King was wholly swayed) their Petitions were granted to them; and to the poor men their lives. This was the last Scene

of

of this Tragical Tumult, the like whereof this well-governed City had not known in many Ages. For the Laws very well provided in that case, do under a great penalty forbid Assemblies, especially of armed men, if not warranted by publick Authority.

In *August* and *September* the Sweating-sickness (termed beyond Sea, *Sudor Anglicus*, or the *English sweat*) began, a disease utterly unknown to former Ages. Of the common sort they were numberless, that perished by it; of the Nobility, the Lords *Clinton*, and *Grey* of *Wilton*. The symptoms and cure you may find in *Polydore Virgil* (in *Anno 1. Henr. 7.*) who (as confidently, as I believe truly) maintains, That, this disease was never till then known to be, much less to be mortal. As if there were a concatenation of evils, one evil seldom cometh alone. A Pestilence succeeded this former mortality, and so raged the whole Winter season in most parts of the Realm, that the King for fear of infection, attended by a few, was fain every day to remove his Court from one place to another.

The eleventh of *February* was born the Lady *Mary*, afterwards Queen of *England*.

1517.

The Sweating-Sickness.

ANNO DOM. 1518. REG. 10.

THE Peace so long treated of between us and the *French*, was now in *September* at length concluded on these Conditions:

That the Daulphin should marry the Lady *Mary* the King's only Child, and not yet two years old: That *Tournay* should be restored to the *French*: That the *French* should pay King *Henry* four hundred thousand Crowns, viz. two hundred thousand for his charge in building the Cittadel, for the Artillery, Powder, and Munition, which he should leave there; and other two hundred thousand Crowns, partly for the expence of that war, wherein the City was taken, and partly in regard of other Pensions that were due unto him.

1518.

Peace with France.

For the payment of which summs, the *French* gave eight Hostages; so saith *Bellay*. But our Writers speak of a far different sum, viz. Six hundred thousand Crowns for the City, and four hundred thousand Crowns for the Cittadel: besides three and twenty thousand Pounds *Tournois*; which the City of *Tournay* ought the King; and an annual Pension of a thousand Marks assigned to Cardinal *Wolsey* for renouncing all claim and title to the Bishoprick of *Tournay*. For the confirmation of these Articles, the Earl of *Worcester*, and the Bishop of *Ely*, with some others, were sent into *France*, where both by the King and Princes of the Realm they were magnificently entertained.

ANNO

ANNO DOM. 1519. REG. 11.

1519.

The death of
the Emperour
Maximilian.

THis year, on the twelfth of *January*, in the sixty third year of his age, died the Emperour *Maximilian*, having to prevent a disease, to which he thought himself inclining, unseasonably taken a Medicine of uncertain operation. His death bred an equal desire in the minds of two great Princes, who became Competitors for the Empire, *Francis* King of *France*, and *Charles* King of *Spain*. But *Charles*, although King of *Spain*, yet being by birth (born at *Gand*) and descent a *German*, at the age of nineteen years was chosen Emperour of *Germany*, with the full consent and suffrages of all the Princes Electors. This Election, how-ever other slight matters were pretended, was undoubtedly the cause of the ensuing dreadful War between these Princes. The *French* King taking this repulse impatiently, meditates nothing but revenge. And that his designs might no way be crossed by us, he labours amain for the confirmation of the Peace lately agreed upon between *Henry* and him. Therefore by the Admiral *Bonivet* he deals with *Wolsey*, that at an Interview between the two Kings, the League might be ratified. To this end *Henry* intends to come to *Guifnes*, *Francis* to *Ardres*, and a convenient place between both is made choice of for their Interview.

ANNO DOM. 1520. REG. 12.

1520.

The Emperour
Charles the
Fifth in Eng-
land:

Canterbury.

Hereupon the King setting forward towards *France*, by easie journeys comes to *Canterbury*, intending there to keep his *whitsontide*. The next day after being the twenty sixth of *May*, the new created Emperour *Charles* the Fifth in his return from *Spain* arrives at *Dover*, distant twelve miles from *Canterbury*. The King gladly entertaines the news, and although it were midnight, takes horse, and within little more than an hour comes by torch-light to *Dover-Castle*, where the Emperour lay; who Sea-weary was then asleep. But being certified of the King's arrival, he suddenly apparelled himself, and met the King at the top of the stairs. They embraced and saluted one another, they long conferred together, and the next morning (being *whit-Sunday*) they rode together to *Canterbury*, the Emperour alway keeping the right hand, and the Earl of *Derby* bearing the Sword before them both. *Canterbury* is a City more famous for antiquity, than for modern beauty. To let pass, that it was above a thousand years since made an Archiepiscopal See, our Chronicles do sufficiently testifie, that both in respect of private mens fair Houses, and the magnificent structure of its Churches, it antiently excelled the bravest Cities of *England*. But within these few years it hath lost so much
of

of its greatness and beauty, that a man shall find little of *Canterbury* beside the name. Why it should so much in so short space decay, many reasons may be alledged: As the vicinity of *London*, which swelling like the Spleen, sucks both blood and moisture from all the other languishing Cities of the Kingdom. Likewise the subversion of *St. Augustine's* Monastery, the loss of *Calais*, and the pulling down of Archbishop *Becket's* Shrine, things which occasioned a great concourse of people, and did by their loss and overthrow much impair this Cities splendour. One only Ornament thereof survives, which is the Cathedral and Metropolitane Church, with such a majesty piercing the skies (saith *Erasmus*) that it a far off fills the beholder with devout amazement. This Church being at first dedicated to our Saviour CHRIST, a few Ages past degenerated into the nick-name of *St. Thomas*. This *Thomas*, surnamed *Becket*, having obstinately opposed *Henry* the Second, was in this Church slain by certain Souldiers; and being afterward canonized for a Saint, his Sepulcher mightily increased the glory of the place. For from those times even almost to our days, all sorts of people from all parts of *Europe*, superstitiously frequented the Shrine of this upstart Saint, with rich Oblations endeavouring to procure his favour. Hence the Monastery was so enriched, that of it and the Church *Erasmus* said, *That every place was enlightened with the lustre of most precious and huge Stones, and the Church throughout abounded with more than Royal Treasure.* But the Shrine especially, that contained the Relicks of this Saint, was so embossed with Jewels, that Gold was the meanest thing about it. Hither accompanied with King *Henry*, came the Emperour *Charles*, but whether out of devotion or curiosity, I cannot say. But this is certain, that the Cardinal and the Clergy going in Procession, to the Church they went directly, where a great deal of time was spent in Ceremonious Worship; and Oblations at *Becket's* Tomb, not only by the Emperour, but even by him, who shortly after defaced the Monument, and seized upon that infinite Treasure, heaped up by the devout folly of many preceding Ages. From the Church they went to the Archbishop's Palace, where the Queen, Aunt to the Emperour, awaited them, and very joyfully welcomed her Nephew. Three days were spent in banqueting and pastimes, and then the Emperour went to his Navy at *Sandwich*, the King and Queen to *Dover*, from whence they passed to *Calais*, that the intended Interview of the two Kings might work its due effects. The seventh of *June* was the appointed day; the place, between *Ardres* and *Guisnes*. There the two Kings mounted on *Spanish* Gennets, attended by such a multitude of Nobility, as the occasions of a hundred years before had not at once brought together the like, encountred each other, both in the flower of their age, the goodliest Princes of the world, and most expert in all kind of combats both on horse and foot.

1520.

Interview betwixt the Kings of England and France.

1520.



foot. It were needless to set forth the magnificence of these Princes, when the bravery of their attendants was such, that the place was thence named *The golden Camp*. Having embraced each other on horse-back, they alight and betake themselves to a Pavilion there purposely pitched: *Henry* attended on by the Cardinal of *York*, and the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*; *Francis* by the Admiral *Bonivet*, the Chancellor *du Prat*, and some other Counsellors. Having had familiar conference concerning some private matters, they gave order for erecting a Theatre, and enclosing a ground for a Tilt-yard, that so they might solace themselves, whiles their Council treated of graver matters, the conclusion whereof they might at leisure every day know by relation. Fourteen days these Princes gave each other the meeting, with great concourse of most famous Souldiers. *Henry* then entertained the *French King* at *Guisnes*, in a House made of Timber (framed partly in *England*, partly in *Holland*, and thence brought thither) wherein there were four Mansions: The out-side was covered with Cloth so painted, that it would have deceived the beholders for squared Stone; the in-side was hung with most rich Arras, so that it every way seemed a most artificial and stately Building. The form of it was much like that of the *Exchange* at *Calais*. It being afterward taken asunder, was transported into *England*, and so stood the King in little or nothing, saith *Bellay*. (Whereas we know, and that by Records, that there were sent over out of *England* for this Work, three hundred Masons, six hundred Carpenters, two hundred Painters, Glasiers, and other Artificers (in all eleven hundred) which for the space of two months laboured continually on this Fabrick.) The day ensuing, the *French King* prepares a Banquet: the Banqueting-house was a Canopy every way extended sixty foot, which without was covered with Cloth of Tissue, within with blew Velvet pouldred with golden *Flowers-de-Lys*. At each corner was a Pavilion of the same works; the cords were of blew Silk twisted with Gold of *Cyprus*, which was of great esteem. But a most impetuous and tempestuous wind broke asunder the cords, and laid all this bravery in the dirt. *Patience par force*. The *French King* suddenly makes another Banqueting-house; in that place where there is now a Fort that takes its name from this Banquet. The preparations were extraordinary, and the magnificence outstripped the reach of humane judgment. There wanted neither houles, woods, nor fields for disport; for many men brought them entire on their backs. But pleasures must have their intermission, and Kings if not by their Greatness, are by their Affairs severed. *Henry* therefore returns to *Calais*, and *Francis* to *Boloign*. The tenth of the ensuing month, the King gallantly attended, visited the Emperour at *Graveling*. The Emperour in requital accompanied him back to *Calais*. Shews and Banquets are Princes usual Entertainments. To this end, the King so commanding, a round building

Henry visits
Emperour at
Graveling.

1520.

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1520.

is made in the form of an Amphitheatre, eight hundred foot in compass. The sides were of planks; in the middle was a Pillar made of eight great Malts tied together. This Pillar supported the weight not only of the roof of the whole Fabrick, (whither as into a lower Heaven the Moon and Stars had descended) but Organs also, and places for the receipt of all sorts of Musick in abundance. These places were adorned with Tapestry, Statues, and curious Pictures, insomuch that the most fault-finding could not complain of any want in that kind. All things were now prepared for the entertainment of such a guest, and the Banquet ready to be served in, when the same mischance that befel the *French Canopy*, made our *English* Heaven and Earth meet together. God, as displeased with the mad prodigality of these two Kings, sent a tempest, the violence whereof scattered this counterfeit Heaven, blew out above a thousand Wax-tapers, defaced the glorious Thrones prepared for these Princes, frustrated the expectation of the people, and forced the King to the necessity of another place. But to let pass the Tilting, Malques, and gorgeous Feasts during the six days the Emperour staid at *Calais*: In these several Enter-views between all these Princes there was no one serious thing done, but this, that a firm Peace, a perpetual League, and faithful Friendship seemed to be concluded on all sides. For who would have thought, that it had been possible for discord it self to have dissolved this knot, where *Charles* and *Francis* attributed so much to *Henry*, that they made him Umpire of all controversies that should arise between them? But that there is seldom any heed to be given to the Agreements of Princes, where they are tied by no other bands (as of Religion, Affinity, or manifest Utility) than that weak one of their plighted Troth, those fout dissensions, and bloody wars which afterwards rent all Christendom, and opened a way for that common enemy of our Faith, may be a sufficient example. The Emperour; after all these passages of courtesie and humanity, departs toward *Graveling*, mounted on a brave Horse covered with a foot-cloth of cloth of gold, richly beset with stones which the King had given him. He would often speak of his Aunts happiness, that was matcht to so magnificent a Prince. The King staid some few days after at *Calais*, from whence passing to *Dover*, he with all his train arrived safe at *London*. I cannot but envy their happiness, who in so little time saw three the mightiest Monarchs in Christendom, who for their exploits, and the great alterations happening under each of them, will without doubt be famous through all succeeding Ages.

Aa

ANNO



ANNO DOM. 1521. REG. 13.

1521.

The Duke of  
Buckingham  
accused of  
Treason.

**E**dward Stafford Duke of *Buckingham* was about this time arraigned of high Treason. He was descended of a Family, which whether it was more antient or noble, is questionable. He derived himself by a direct line from *Robert de Stafford*, to whom *William* the Conquerour gave large revenues, which his posterity greatly enlarged, by matching with the Heirs female of many noble Families. By the Lady *Ann*, Daughter to *Thomas* of *Woodstock* Duke of *Glocester*, who was Brother to *Edward* the Third, he participated of the Blood Royal. The first honourable Title of the Family was of Lord *Stafford*, the next of Earl of *Stafford*, as was *Edmund*, that married the Daughter to *Thomas* of *Woodstock*. *Humphrey* Son to *Edmund* was created Duke of *Buckingham* by *Henry* the Sixth, who left that Honor to his Son *Humphrey*, who was Grandfather to this *Edward* by his Son *Henry* the third Duke. How *Henry* assisted the Usurper *Richard* the Third, in oppressing *Edward* the Fifth, how he after conspired with the Earl of *Richmond* (afterwards *Henry* the Seventh) against the Usurper, but was cut off by the Tyrant before he could bring any thing to pass, the Histories of those times declare. *Edward* his Son restored to Blood and Dignities by *Henry* the Seventh, for his Descent, Wealth, and Honors, inferiour to none but the King, not content with this, was by *N. Hopkins* a *Charterhouse*-Monk induced to believe that Heaven had decreed to cut off King *Henry*, after whose death he should reign, and the Crown be for ever established on his posterity. This the Monk affirmed, God the Governour of all things, had revealed unto him. He further advised him by liberality and courtesie to win the minds of the people, for the time was at hand wherein this should certainly come to pass, if it were not through his own default. The Duke (no sot, but blinded by ambition) gave such credit to the Monk, who was either mad, or else flattered him in hope of reward, that although the time prefixed for these Miracles were past, yet was he still in hope, fed the Impostor with gifts, who fed him with air, secretly vilified the King, and gave profusely to all. Nay he could not forbear, but at length he must brag of the Jugler's promises, as he did to a Gentleman named *Charles Knevet*, to whom he boldly unmasked himself, and gave a reason of his actions. Upon *Knevet's* accusation he was arraigned, and condemned the thirteenth of *May*, and on the seventeenth publicly beheaded. His death was lamented by many, and the rather for that he was no way faulty, but in his vanity and pride, which overthrew him. Being a child; I have heard antient men say, that by his bravery of Apparel, and sumptuous Feasts he exasperated the King, with whom in these things he seemed to contend. But he could by no means bear

1521.

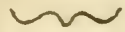
bear with the intolerable pride of the Cardinal, whose hatred not improbably proved fatal unto him, rather than did the King's displeasure: for many times Princes are with less danger offended; than their Mignons. There goes a tale, That the Duke once holding the basin to the King, the Cardinal when the King had done, presently dipped his hands in the same water: the Duke disdaining to debase himself to the service of a Priest, shed the water in his shoes. The Cardinal therewith incensed, threatned him, that *He would sit upon his skirts*. The Duke to shew that he slighted his threats, and withal, that the King might take notice of the Cardinal's malice, came the next day to Court, richly (as he usually was) apparelled, but without skirts to his Doublet. The King and many others demanding what he meant by that strange fashion, he answered readily, *That it was done by way of prevention, for the Cardinal should not now sit upon his skirts*. He thought he had put a jest upon the Cardinal, to whose informations, as proceeding from envy and spleen, he hoped the King would hereafter give the less credit. But he missed his mark: for most men were of opinion, that the Cardinal's malice crushed him rather, than did the weight of his own offences. It was the saying of *Charles* the Emperour, upon the report of his death, *That the Butcher's Dog had killed the fairest Hart of England*. Howsoever it came to pass, the King who had hitherto ruled without bloodshed, induced by the former reasons (so the Records run) permitted his hands to be stained with the blood of this poor Prince; many lamenting, that the indiscreet credulity of one man, having not attempted ought against the Estate, should be the overthrow of so noble a Family. If I might lawfully pry so far into God's judgments, which are indeed inscrutable, I would be bold to impute the punishment of the Son to the Father's treachery, who conspired with the Usurper against his lawful Prince, *Edward* the Fifth, who by his assistance was deprived of his Life and Kingdom. But forasmuch as that being touched in conscience, he manifestly repented this fact (for seeking to oppress the Tyrant, whom he himself had raised, he perished miserably) the Divine Justice (I think) so far regarded his repentance, that his posterity are nevertheless Peers of the Realm, by the title of Lord *Stafford*. *The first point of wisdom is, not to run into Errour; the next, quickly to amend it.*

The King having written a Book against *Martin Luther*, sent it as a Present to Pope *Leo* the Tenth. This *Leo*, not yet thirty eight years old, was by the combination of the Junior Cardinals elected Pope. In which dignity he behaved himself according to his years, profusely spending the Treasures of the Church in hawking and hunting, and other pleasures not deemed over-honest. Need began at length to pinch him, and money must be had. Whereupon he resolves to make use of his Keys, against the most

King Henry  
writeth against  
Luther.



1521.



Luther's departure from the Church of Rome.

subtil locks, and strongest bars, ever yet held prevalent. Indulgences of all sorts, without distinction of time or place, must now publickly be set to sale. *St. Peter's Church* (this was the pretence) was out of repair, towards which a certain sum of money given, would purchase Pardon of Sins, not only for the Living, but for the Dead also, whose Souls should thereby be redeemed from the pains of Purgatory. But whatsoever was pretended, every one palpably saw, that these Pardons were granted to get money for his own relief. And forasmuch as the Commissioners demanded it after an impudent and shameless manner, they in most places incurred the dislike and indignation of the people, especially in *Germany*, where they saw this faculty of redeeming Souls from Purgatory, was either sold for little or nothing, or played away in their Taverns. But what speak I of the Commissioners? That which made the *Germans* most impatient, was, that the heedless Pope had given to his Sister *Magdalen* the profit of the exactions of Indulgences in many parts of *Germany*, and that so openly, that every one must needs know it. For all *Germany* spake it, that this money was not gathered for the Pope or the Treasury of the Church (whereby peradventure some part of it might be employed to good uses) but was exacted to satisfy the greediness of a Woman. At that time lived *Martin Luther*, a Doctor of Divinity, and an *Augustine* Monk, one who under a religious Habit, did not consecrate himself to idleness, but to God. It is reported, how truly I know not, that recreating himself in the fields, his companion with whom he then discoursed, was suddenly stricken dead with Thunder. He thereupon falling into due consideration of the uncertainty of death, and of judgement, left the study of the Civil Law, to which he then applied himself, and renouncing the world, betook himself to a Cloister, where for his deportment he was beyond exception, for Learning (especially divine) he was scarce matchable. Upon this horrible abuse of the authority of the Keys, being inflamed with a pious zeal, he could not contain himself, but boldly and bitterly inveighed against this gross impiety. Neither stayd he there, but (to storm the Pope never so much) proceeds to other enormities in the Church of *Rome*; some whereof that Church hath since reformed, the rest religious Princes, by *Luther* awakened out of their dead sleep of Superstition, notwithstanding the practices of *Rome*, have (God be thanked) exploded. New opinions (especially in matters of Religion) are of themselves always odious. *Henry* being offended with *Luther's* new (as the world then deemed them) Tenets, thought it would prove to his honour, by writing against *Luther*, to manifest his Learning and Piety to the world. Hereupon under his name a Book was set forth, better befitting some antient and deep Divine, than a youthful Prince (whom although he earnestly endeavoured it, yet his affairs would not permit

permit to bury himself among his Books ) which many thought to have been compiled by Sir *Thomas Moor*, some by the Bishop of *Rocheſter*, and others (not without cauſe) ſuſpected to be the work of ſome other great Scholar. Whoſoever wrote it, *Luther* replied in ſuch ſort, that although his holy zeal were approved by many, yet thoſe many could have wiſhed him more temperate, and reſpective of the Maſteſty of Kings. This Book was ſo acceptable to the Pope, that according to the example of *Alexander* the Sixth, who entituled the King of *Spain*, *Catholick*; and of that Pope, whoſoever he were, that gave the *French* King the title of *Moſt Chriſtian*; he decreed to grace King *Henry* and his Succeſſors with that honorable one of *Defender of the Faith*. Which ſeveral Titles are by theſe Princes retained to this day. But *Leo* long ſurvived not his gift, about the end of the year dying (as is ſuſpected) by poiſon. In the mean time the exulcerated minds of the Emperour and the *French* King (according to the nature of ambitious hatred, that for its own ends makes all cauſes juſt) burſt out into open Wars; for the compoſing whereof each of them had formerly agreed to refer themſelves (if any differences ſhould ariſe) to the arbitrement of *Henry*. He therefore ſends to each of them Ambaſſadors, the Cardinal of *York*, the Earl of *Worceſter*, and others, who ſhould, if it were poſſible, reconcile theſe enraged Princes. All they could do, proved but an endeavour: for when they thought they had compaſſed their deſires, ſudden news came, that the Admiral *Bonivet* had by force taken *Fuentaraby*, a Town of the Emperour's in *Biſcay*. The Emperour would not then ratifie the Agreement, unleſs this Town were redelivered; which the *French* denying to do, all fell to pieces again, and the War was renewed. After their devoir in this cauſe, our Ambaſſadors went directly to *Bruges* to the Emperour, of whom for a fortnight, which was the time of their ſtay there, they had Royal entertainment. But he held the Cardinal in ſo great eſteem, that it was apparent he was not ignorant, how powerful the Cardinal was with his Prince. And here perhaps it would not be amiſs (in regard of theſe times) to let the Reader know the pomp and ſtate of this Cardinal, how many Gentlemen attended him appaſſelled with Velvet, and adorned with Gold-chains, and then how many were cloathed in Scarlet-coats, the ſkirts whereof were guarded with Velvet the full bredth of a hand. But let him gueſs *Hercules* ſtature by the length of his foot. Such was the bravery of his attendants, that in *Chriſtiern* King of *Denmark*, and other Princes then reſiding at *Bruges*, it bred amazement. It was alſo reported, that he was by Gentlemen of the beſt rank ſerved on the knee, a kind of ſtate which *Germany* had yet never known. He ſpent a huge maſs of money in that Ambaſſage, and that (as it is thought) not againſt his will. For he by all means ſought the Emperour's favour, hoping that *Leo*, although much younger, either cut off by

1521.

The Kings of  
England by the  
Pope ſtiled,  
Defender of  
the Faith.  
The death of  
Leo the Tenth.

Cardinal Wol-  
ſey and others  
ſent Ambaſſa-  
dors to the Em-  
perour and  
French King.



1521.

by treachery, or his own intemperance, might leave the world before him: And then were it no hard matter for him, being under-propped by the Emperour and our King, to be advanced to the Papacy. Wherefore at the first bruit of his death he posted away *Pacey* the Dean of *Pauls* into *Italy*, with Mandates to certain Cardinals whom he thought respected him, that they should do their best in his behalf. But before he could reach *Rome*, he was certainly informed, that *Adrian* (sometimes Tutor to the Emperour, and then Viceroy of *Spain*) was already elected, by the name of *Adrian* the Sixth.

ANNO DOM. 1522. REG. 14.

1522.

**V***V* *Olsey* nevertheless was as full of ambitious hope as ever. For *Adrian* was a decrepit weak old man, and therefore not likely (as indeed he did not) to survive him. In the mean time he might make an ascent, by which his ambition might climb. He therefore seeks to advance the Emperour's designs more than ever, and to that end he persuadeth *Henry* to denounce War against the *French*; for that he denied to surrender *Fuentaraby*, and had broken the Covenants made between them, in not standing to the Arbitrement of *Henry*, as both *Charles* and *Francis* had compromised; at what time it was likewise decreed, that *Henry* should declare himself an Enemy to the obstinate refuser. The *French* discerning the storm before it came, arrests all *English* Ships, commits the Merchants to prison, and seizeth their goods to his own use; stops all Pensions due either to *Henry* for *Tournay*, or to his Sister the Dowager of *France*, for her Jointure. The *French* Ships and Merchants in *England* find the like entertainment, the Hostages given by the *French* for the foresaid summs, are committed to close prison, and the *French* Ambassador confined to his house. Levies are made throughout *England*, and great preparations for another Expedition into *France*: To which the King being wholly bent, Ambassadors suddenly arrive from the Emperour; whose request was, That he would joyn his forces with the Imperials: and that, if it so pleased him, *Charles* would within few days be in *England*, that so they might personally confer and advise what course they were best to run. Many reasons moved the Emperour by the way to touch at *England*. His Grandfather *Ferdinand* being dead, his presence was necessarily required in *Spain*, whither he must pass by *England*. He feared lest this breach betwixt us and *France*, might easily be made up, he being so far distant. He had an *Aetna* in his breast, which burned with extreme hatred toward the *French*, and was confident, that his presence would raise our sparkle to a flame. They might personally treat and conclude more safely and securely than by Agents and Posts, of whom in matters

matters of moment no wise man would make use, unless forced by necessity. But the chief cause (as I conjecture) of this his second coming into *England*, was, that he was weary of *Wolsey*, with whom he saw it was impossible long to continue friend. For the Cardinal by his importunity, one while for the Papacy, another while for the Archbishoprick of *Toledo*, did much molest him, who had determined to afford him nothing but good words. He disdained not in his Letters to a *Butcher's Son*, to use that honorable compellation of *Cousin*, and whether present or absent, he afforded him all kind of honour whatsoever. But when the Cardinal craved any earnest of his love, some excuse or other was found out to put him by, yet so, as still to entertain him with hopes. But *Wolsey* was subtil, and of a great spirit. And these devices were now grown so stale, that they must needs be perceived. *Charles* therefore neglecting his wonted course by *Wolsey*, studies how to be assured of the King without him. For this no fitter means could be thought of, than this Interview. The King was naturally courteous, loved the Emperour exceedingly, and reposed great confidence in him. *Charles* therefore hoped that by the familiarity of some few weeks he might make the King his own. But *Henry* (he thought) would not long continue so, unless he could some way lessen his favour toward the Cardinal. This he hoped might be effected by admonishing the King, that he was now past the years of a child, and needed no Tutor, that it was not fit he should suffer himself to be swayed by a Priest, one in all reason better skilled in the mysteries of the Altar, than of State, against which in this respect (besides the abuse of his power) he must needs be some way (though perhaps unwillingly) faulty. The addition of some aspersions withal were thought not to be amiss, which if not true, should at least carry a shew of truth. That the Emperour practised something in this kind, the consequences make it more than probable. *Henry* being a noble Prince, and one that scorned money as much as any one breathing, was glad of the Emperour's coming; yet was his Treasury very bare, and so great a Guest could not be entertained without as great expences. *Charles* upon notice of the King's pleasure, attended by the Marquess of *Dorset*, the Bishop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, the Lord *De La-ware*, and others of the *English* Nobility, comes from *Graveling* to *Calais*, from whence he passed to *Dover*, where he was received by the Cardinal, who was accompanied with two Earls, ten Bishops, ten Abbots, thirty six Knights, a hundred Gentlemen, thirty Priests (all these apparelled in Velvet) and at least seven hundred Servants. Two days he staid at *Dover* before the King came. At length he came, and welcomed him with all Princely entertainment, professing, that no greater happiness could betide him on earth, than the enjoying his Majesty's most desired company, though but for so short a time. From *Dover*, taking *Canterbury* in the way, they came

The Emperour  
Charles the  
second time in  
England.



1522.

Windfor.

came to *Greenwich*, where the Queen awaited the longed for presence of her Nephew. From thence to *London*, where they were received by the Citizens with the solemnities usual at the Coronation of our Kings. At *Whitsontide* both Princes came to *Pauls*, where they heard the Cardinal say Mass: Sports agreeable to the entertainment of such a Guest, were not wanting. But when mention was made of renewing the League, *Windfor* was thought fittest for the Treaty, it being not above twenty miles from *London*, and a place altogether as it were composed for pleasure. *Windfor* is situated in a large Plain, upon the banks of the River *Thames*. The Castle (being the chiefest in *England*, for strength comparable to that of *Dover*, but far exceeding it in greatness and beauty) is built on a hill. This Castle contains besides the King's Court, a goodly Church by *Edward* the Third dedicated to the Blessed Virgin and St. *George*; adjoining to which is the College, where are the houses of the Dean, Prebendaries, and Vicars Choral, where also live twelve Souldiers discharged of the Wars (called Knights) and having pensions, who in their habits are bound daily to frequent the Church, there to pray unto God for the Knights of the Illustrious Order of the Garter. Of this Order the Castle is the Seat, where according to the first Institution, the Knights are to be installed, on certain days are to Offer and to do some other duties. Here, upon *Corpus Christi* day these Princes having on the Robes of the Order; in their stalls heard Mass; and receiving the Sacrament, bound themselves by Oath inviolably to observe the Conditions of this new League, the chief Articles whereof were these:

The Conditions  
of the League  
concluded with  
the Emperour.

*That they should with joint and as great Forces as they could, invade France: That the Emperour should yearly pay to the King as much as was due to Him and his Sister, from the French, viz. 133000 Crowns: That the Emperour should at convenient years take to Wife his Cousin-german the Lady Mary, the King's only Child (who after reigned, and at age of forty years was married to Philip the Emperour's Son;) That he by whose default it should happen, that this match should not succeed, should pay the other 500000 Crowns: And for assurance of this, the Emperour should put St. Omers and Aires into the King's hands.*

One would have thought it had passed the reach of humane policy, to have dissolved this band. But shortly after broken it was, and could never after be firmly knit again. After eight days stay at *Windfor*, these Princes went to *Winchester*, and from thence to *Southampton*, where was the Emperour's Fleet, consisting of a hundred and eighty Ships. Here on the first of *July* the Emperour took Ship and made for *Spain*.

In the mean time the Earl of *Surrey* having gathered a Fleet, landed near *Morleys* in *Bretaigne*, forced the Town, and burned it.

And

And having wasted all the Countrey thereabout, he went into *Picardy*, to joyn with the Imperials. Some Forts they took and razed. They besieged *Hesdin*, but without success: For Winter coming on, and our men dying apace of the Flux, they were fain to set sail homeward.

1522.

*Rhodes taken  
by the Turk.*

I will conclude this year with an ignominious and fatal loss to Christendom, the Isle of *Rhodes*, being on *Christmas*-day taken by the *Turks*, while Christian Princes disagreeing about matters of nothing, ruin'd themselves, and invite the Miscreant to propagate his long since too too formidable Empire. God grant they may at length, considering the common danger, rouse up themselves, and with joint-resistance repell this Enemy of *Christ's* Cross, who although he be far enough from some, is too near to the farthest.

ANNO DOM. 1523. REG. 15.

**C**hristiern the Second, King of *Denmark*, by the rebellion of his Subjects driven out of his Kingdom, had resided some while with the Emperour, whose Sister he had married. The fifteenth of *June*, accompanied with his Wife, Niece to Queen *Katherine*, he landed at *Dover*. At *London* they abode some days, with that due honour that kindred and Princes give to one another. The fifth of *July* they returned toward *Calais*. In the mean time a Parliament was held at *London*, wherein the States being certified of the necessity of War, and what a fair occasion was offered for the recovery of *France*, but that the War was like to be defective, in regard of the weakness of its sinews; a great sum of money was easily granted. The Kings of *France* exact money of their Subjects at their pleasure; the Kings of *England* do not usually, without a Parliament, wherein the pretence of War with *France* was wont to be a great motive of the Subjects liberality. And indeed *France* was at this time greatly distracted, being oppressed with so many Enemies abroad, and having to do with undermining Treachery at home; insomuch that our advantages, if wisely followed, seemed to promise us whatsoever we could hope for. *Francis* was on the one side pressed with the War of *Milan*, on the other side by the Emperour: At home *Charles* Duke of *Bourbon* revolted from him, by Letters inciting our King to the recovery of his hereditary (as he acknowledged) Right in *France*, whereto, respectless of pain or peril, he promised his faithful assistance. Neither was this offer to be slighted; for he had conceived an implacable hatred against his Prince, and was able to make a great party in *France*. His valour and experience were after manifested by the greatness of his exploits performed in a short space, *Francis* being taken prisoner by him, *Rome* sacked by his

1523.

*Christiern,  
King of Den-  
mark.*

*The Duke of  
Bourbon re-  
volts.*



1523.

his conduct, the Pope besieged in the Castle of *St. Angelo*, and fain at last to ransom himself and his Cardinals at a mighty rate. These notable advantages were all let slip through the never satisfied ambition and malice of one man; but so, that it made way for that great alteration which afterward happened in the estate of the Church. Blessed be that almighty Power, that converts the wicked designs of men to the good of his Church, and his own glory.

The Parliament being dissolved, the Duke of *Suffolk* is sent into *France* with thirteen thousand men; viz. six hundred Launces, two hundred Archers on horse-back, three thousand Archers on foot, five thousand Halberdiers, seventeen hundred drawn out of the Garrison of *Calais*, and two thousand six hundred Pioners. The *English* and *Imperials* joining, invaded the *French* Dominions, took *Roye*, *Mondidier*, *Bohain*, *Bray*, *Chasteaubeau*, and marching within twenty two leagues of *Paris*, put the City in a terrible affright, until the Lord of *Brion*, sent by the King with the comfortable news of the coming of the Duke of *Vendosme* with four hundred Launces, makes them take heart again. After these exploits, our Forces toward the end of *December* were recalled.

The death of  
Adrian the  
Sixth.  
Clement the  
Seventh suc-  
ceedeth, and  
Wolsey suf-  
fereth the re-  
pulse.

In the mean time, on the fourteenth of *September* died Pope *Adrian* the Sixth; in whose place *Julius Medices* was after two months elected. Here *Wolsey* again failed in his hopes, who expected by the help of the Emperour and the King, to have succeeded *Adrian*. But the Emperour never intended this dignity for him (for he did his best for *Julius*.) Neither indeed had he been willing, could he have advanced him to the Chair. For the Cardinals were in so short a time weary of *Adrian*, who was a stranger, and little acquainted with the Court of *Rome*. And the College repined to see any other sit in *St. Peter's* Chair, than an *Italian*, or at least one bred up in *Italy*. Nevertheless *Wolsey* was so incensed against the Emperour, by whose default (he was verily persuaded) it happened that he missed of the Papacy, that now bidding hope farewell, he was possessed with a desire to be revenged on the Emperour for his conceived injury. He therefore on a sudden turns *French*, and to hinder the Emperour's proceedings, procured our Forces to be called home, pretending the ill season of the year, with promise that the next Spring they should be returned again.

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ANNO DOM. 1524. REG. 16.

1524.

But *Charles* having not given any just cause of breach, *Wolsey* dared not publickly to profess his affection toward the *French*, with whom notwithstanding by the intercourse of one *John Joachim* a *Genouese* he maintains intelligence, and without the privity of

of *Henry* lays the platform of a new League. The War was very hot between the Emperour and the *French*. *Francis* had already taken *Milan*, and with a mighty Army sat down before *Pavia*, vowing not to rise from thence until he had taken it. The Duke of *Bourbon* and the Imperials were in number little inferiour, and stood in want of nothing but money (indeed all in all) wherewith the Pope, the *Venetians*, and our *Henry* were to furnish him. *Clement*, although he had obtained the Papacy chiefly by *Charles* his means, detained the money which his predecessor *Adrian* had promised, saying, it beseemed not his Holiness, to intermeddle with the Wars of Princes. The *Venetians* at first answered coldly, at length plainly denied; for they stood in awe of the *French*, and were jealous of the Emperour's ambition: And the malicious Cardinal had so played his part with *Henry*, that the Imperials disappointed of the monthly summs due from him, were exceedingly distressed. Now *Wolsey* to make a separation between these two Princes, told the King, that he certainly found that the Emperour did but delude him: that he had indeed promised to marry the King's Daughter; but a rumour was raised by the *Spaniards*, That this match would be little either for his profit or his honour, forasmuch as upon the point, the Lady *Mary* was but a Bastard, begotten, it is true, in wedlock, yet incestuously, the match being by the Ecclesiastical Constitutions made unlawful: for he could not lawfully marry Queen *Catharine*, who had been before married to his Brother Prince *Arthur*: That both the Old and New Testaments were expresse against such conjunctions, and that therefore it lay not in the Pope to dispense with them. It is certain that the Emperour's Ambassadors had thus discoursed with *Wolsey* upon this very point, and *Wolsey* made his use of it accordingly. He knew the King doated not on his Queen, and buzzed these things in his ears, in hope he would berthink himself of a new Wife. This taking as he desired, and the King lamenting, that for lack of Issue he should leave the Kingdom to a Child, to a Woman, to One, whom, in regard the lawfulness of her birth was questionable, he could not with safety make his Heir; the Cardinal proposed unto him for Wife *Margaret* Duchess of *Alanson*, a beautiful Lady, and Sister to the King of *France*. He knew, that upon his Divorce from *Catharine*, and Marriage with the other, *Henry* must of necessity fall foul with the Emperour, and without hope of reconciliation, strongly adhere to the *French*. That this Divorce was for these reasons set on foot by *Wolsey*, the Imperial Historians do all accord; neither for ought I ever read, do Ours deny. But howsoever it came to pass, this is certain, That *Henry* instead of furnishing the Emperour with the money he had promised, demanded all that he had already lent.

1525.

*Wolsey per-  
suades the King  
to a Divorce.*



ANNO DOM. 1525. REG. 17.

1525.

Richard Pacey  
Dean of Pauls  
falleth mad.

**R**ichard Pacey Dean of *St. Pauls*, had been not long before sent to *Venice* as an Agent concerning our affairs in *Italy*. He was a very Learned man, and worthy (had God been so pleased) of a better Destiny. He knew not the change of the King's mind, But perceiving the monthly pay due from the King, according to promise came not, of whose Honour, which now lay at stake, he was very tender, he was much discontented. To salve all, he assaied to take up so much money of certain Merchants, with whom it seems he in part prevailed. But the summi was so small, that it stood the Imperials in as small stead, and yet so great, that it exceeded the ability of his private estate to make satisfaction. Upon notice of the King's alienation from the Emperour, he fell irrecoverably distracted.

The Battel of  
Pavy.

In the mean time the Duke of *Bourbon* and the Imperials were in so great distress and want of all things, that unless they could by some stratagem or other draw the *French* to commit all to the fortune of a Battel, the Army must needs disband. They disquiet and try the *French* (especially in the night preceding *St. Matthias-day*, which was the day of the Emperour *Charles* his nativity) with many false Alarms. They make two Squadrons of Horse, and four of Foot. The first consisting of six thousand *Lansquenets*, *Spaniards*, and *Italians*, under the command of the Marquess of *Guafto*; the second of *Spanish* Foot, under the Marquess of *Pescara*; the third and fourth of *Lansquenets*, under the Viceroy *Launoy* and the Duke of *Bourbon*. They came to a Wall called the *Park-wall*, and under the covert of the night cast down above sixty paces, enter within it, the first Squadron taking the way to *Mirabell*, the rest marching toward the King's Army. The King thought the Imperials went to *Mirabell*, as making choice of the plain open fields to fight in. He was unwilling to leave the besieged at liberty, and yet the Plains were advantageous for his Horse. He therefore commands his Artillery to be discharged, which somewhat endamaged them; and though unwilling, draws his Forces out of their trenches (than which the Imperials desired nothing more) and opposed the whole strength of his Army against them. But passing before the Cannon, hinders their execution. They that took the way to *Mirabell*, now turn head, and both Armies engage themselves in a cruel fight, wherein the King more following Shadows than Substances, and the idle rumours of the vulgar, than the means of a most certain and glorious Victory, is overthrown and taken prisoner, losing beside the flower of the *French* Nobility (almost all either taken or slain) at one blow the Duchy of *Milan*, the possession whereof had made him Lord of the greatest part of *Lombardy*. Pope *Clement*, who had left the Emperour for the

*French*

*French* (which he after ward repented) often advertised the King, that the Imperials were in great distress and want, that they continually mutinied for lack of pay; that he had taken so sufficient order with the King of *England* and the rest of the Confederates, that they should continue bare enough of money. If therefore he would but hold his hand, and forbear to fight, necessity enforcing the Imperials to disband, he should be victorious without bloodshed. But he was not capable of so good advice. His Forces were great (yet short of his account, his Captains treacherously abusing him, in not furnishing those numbers of Foot for which they received pay) and it were equally a dishonour to him, either to seem to avoid the Enemy, or to lie still so long at a Siege, to no purpose. The Divine Power having decreed to chastise him, permitted him through impatience to run headlong into these errors, which so deeply plunged him in those calamities, that without God's especial favour had proved fatal to him and his *France*.

When I consider this and many other the like chances happening as well in the course of a private man's life, as in publick affairs, I cannot but wonder at the sottish valour of this Age, wherein rather than endure the touch of the least (though false) aspersion, we will run the hazard both of life and fortunes. How many brave men do we daily see, wonderful ingenious in this kind of folly? who standing upon I know not what *Points of Honour*, upon the least offence challenge the field, and wilfully seek out their own destruction. What in God's name is become of the patience of that lingering *Fabius*, who quietly bearing the bitter taunts and mocks of his Souldiers, of the People, and the Senate, yet brought home an easie, though late Victory? We are certainly too blame, with the Dog we catch at the shadow and lose the substance. Of our Saviour we shall learn, that it is the highest point of Fortitude, *In patience to possess our Souls*. And according to *Aristotle*, true Valour is regardless of ill language.

*Mordear opprobriis falsis, mutemque colores?  
Falsus honor juvat, & mendax infamia terret  
Quem, nisi mendosum & mendacem?*

It is *Horace*:

*Back-bitten, must I needs turn pale for it?  
False honours please, and lying slanders fright,  
Whom, but the unworthy and vain-glorious wight?*

In the Tent of the captive King, the Letters of the Pope and our King, concerning their late League with the *French*, being found, the Duke of *Bourbon* now knew the cause why supplies of Money came in so slowly: And *Prat*, Leiger here for the Emperour, upon notice of it, without leave withdrew himself from Court, and on the ninth of *April* secretly departed the land. In the mean time



1525.

time Henry little suspecting that these secret compacts were known to the Emperour, about the end of *March* sent Ambassadors to him *Cutbert Tonstal* Bishop of *London*, and *Sir Richard Wingfield* Knight of the Garter; by whom He did congratulate his late victorious success, admonishing him to a close pursuit of his fortunes: That if his Imperial Majesty intended with greater forces to oppress the already vanquished; in regard of the strict tie of Friendship between them, his necessary endeavours should in no sort be wanting. What answer the Emperour gave I know not. It is very likely he paid the King in his own coin, and dissembled with the Dissembler; but having courteously entertained our Ambassadors, as courteously dismissed them.

Money demanded and commanded by Proclamation.

But the King wants money, and must now dissemble with his Subjects. He pretended War with *France*, and with this key hopes to open his Subjects coffers. The expectation of supplies by a Parliament would prove tedious; some shorter course must be taken. Money is therefore demanded by Proclamation, and that no less than according to the sixth part of every man's Moveables. Divers great personages appointed Commissioners, use all fair means to draw the people to contribute. But although they sat in Commission in divers parts of the Kingdom at one and the same time, they were so far from prevailing, that as if the people had universally conspired, it was every where denied, and the Commissioners very ill entreated, not without further danger of sedition and tumult. Hereupon the King calls a Parliament to be held at *London*; wherein he professeth himself to be utterly ignorant of these intolerable courses by such burthenous taxations. The King disclaiming it, every one seeks to free himself. The Cardinal was at last fain to take all upon himself, protesting, That as a faithful Servant, he had no further end in it, than the profit of his Lord the King; and that he had advised not only with his Majesties Council (which they all acknowledged) but also with the Learned in the Laws both Divine and Humane, whose opinion it was, That the King might lawfully take the same course that Pharaoh did, who by the ministry of Joseph sequestred a certain portion of every mans private estate for the publick good. But the dislike of the people, occasioned by this (though fruitless) project, was greater than could be removed by this excuse.

The King falls in love with Ann Bolen.

And yet this project was not altogether fruitless, the King's apparent want affording a sufficient pretext of deferring the War with *France* until another year. Neither was it the King's intent to make use of his advantages over the *French*, who now lay open to all his blows. Henry having put away his Wife, the Emperour must needs be netled, and then the amity of *France* would stand him in some stead. Indeed *Catharine* was a noble and a virtuous Lady, but she had lived so long, as to make her Husband weary of her. He affected the Daughter of *Sir Thomas Bolen*, Treasurer of

of his Household. Her he intends to marry, and to be divorced from the other: For he did in his soul abhor this incestuous Match, and it stood not with the publick weal, that he should live single, especially the lawfulness of his Daughters birth being so questionable. He married not again for his pleasure, but to settle the Kingdom on his lawful Issue. The Learned (as many as he had conferred with) did generally pronounce the first Marriage void: yet would he have it lawfully decided, that with a safe conscience he might make choice of a second. Thus far had Wolsey willingly led him, hoping to have drawn him to a Match in France. But he was of age to choose for himself, and had already elsewhere settled his affections.

And the more to manifest his love, on the eighteenth of June he created his future Father-in-Law Sir Thomas Bolen, Viscount Rochfort. At the same time were created Henry Fitz-roy the King's natural Son by Elizabeth Blount Daughter to Sir John Blount Knight, Earl of Nottingham, and Duke of Richmond and Somerset: Henry Courtney Earl of Devonshire, the King's Cousin-german, Marquis of Exceter: Henry Brandon, eldest Son to the Duke of Suffolk by the King's Sister the Dowager of France, Earl of Lincoln: Thomas Manners Lord Roos, Earl of Rutland: Sir Henry Clifford, Earl of Cumberland: and Robert Ratcliff Lord Fitzwalter, Viscount Fitzwalter.

A creation of  
Lords.

Wolsey, to  
build two Col-  
leges,

demolished  
forty Mona-  
steries.

Sacrilege pu-  
nished.

Cardinal Wolsey this year laid the foundation of two Colleges, one at Ipswich the place of his birth, another at Oxford, dedicated to our Saviour CHRIST, by the name of Christ-Church. This latter, though not half finished, yet a magnificent and royal Work, a most fruitful Mother of Learned Children, doth furnish the Church and Commonwealth with multitudes of able men, and amongst others, acknowledgeth me (such as I am) for her Foster-child. The other, as if the Founder had also been the foundation, fell with the Cardinal, and being for the most part pulled down, is long since converted to private uses. The Cardinal's private estate (although it were wonderful great) being not sufficient to endow these Colleges with revenues answerable to their foundation, the Pope consenting, he demolished forty Monasteries of meaner note, and conferred the lands belonging to them, on these his new Colleges. It hath been the observation of some, That this business, like that proverbial Gold of Tholouse, was fatal to those that any way had a hand in it. We will hereafter shew what became of the Pope and the Cardinal. But of five, whom he made use of in the alienation of the Gifts of so many Religious men, it afterward happened, that two of them challenging the field of each other, one was slain, and the other hanged for it; a third throwing himself headlong into a Well, perished wilfully; a fourth, before that a wealthy man, sunk to that low ebb, that he after begged his bread; and Dr. Allen the fifth, a man of especial note, being Archbishop of Dublin, was murdered in Ireland.



1525.

*Ireland.* I could wish, that by these and the like examples, men would learn to take heed how they lay hands on things consecrated to God. If the Divine Justice so severely punished those that converted the abused (yet not regarding the abuse, but following the sway of their ambitious desires) goods of the Church to undoubtedly better uses; what can we expect of those that take all occasions to rob and spoil the Church, having no other end, but only the enriching of themselves.

*Luther* had notice of *Henry* his intended Divorce, and that from *Christiern* the expelled King of *Denmark*, who eagerly solicited him to write friendly unto the King; putting *Luther* in hope, that *Henry* being a courteous Prince, might by mild persuasions be induced to embrace the Reformation which *Luther* had begun. And indeed *Luther* foreseeing the necessary consequences of this Divorce, was easily intreated, and did write unto the King in this submissive manner:

*Luther writes  
to the King.*

*He doubted not but he had much offended his Majesty by his late Reply: but he did it rather enforced by others, than of his own accord. He did now write, presuming upon the King's much bruited humanity; especially being informed, That the King himself was not Author of the Book against him, which thing he understood was captiously cavilled at by some Sophisters. And having occasion to speak of the Cardinal of York, he called him the Caterpillar of England: He understood, the King did now loath that wicked sort of men, and in his mind to favour the Truth. Wherefore he craveth pardon of his Majesty, beseeching him to remember, that we being mortal, should not make our enmities immortal. If the King would be pleased to impose it, he would openly acknowledge his fault, and blazon his Royal Virtues in another Book. Then he wished him to stop his ears against those slanderous tongues that branded him with Heresie: for this was the summ of his Doctrine, That we must be saved through Faith in Christ, who did bear the punishment of our sins in every part, and throughout his whole body, who dying for us, and rising again, reigneth with the Father for ever. That he taught this to be the Doctrine of the Prophets and Apostles: and that out of this position he shewed, what Charity was, how we ought to behave our selves one towards another, that we are to obey Magistrates, and to spend our whole life in the profession of the Gospel. If this Doctrine contain any Impiety or Error, why do not his Adversaries demonstrate it? Why do they condemn him without either lawful hearing or confutation? In that he inveigheth against the Pope and his Adherents, he doth it not without good reason; forasmuch as for their profits sake, they teach things contrary to what Christ and the Apostles did, that so they may domineer over the Flock, and maintain themselves in Gluttony and Idleness. That this was the mark at which their thoughts and deeds aimed; and that it was so notorious, that they themselves could not deny it. That if they would reform themselves, by changing their idle and filthy course of life, maintained by the loss and wrong of others,*

others, the differences might easily be composed. That his Tenets were approved by many Princes and Estates of Germany, who did reverently acknowledge this great blessing of God, amongst whom he wonderfully desired he might rank his Majesty. That the Emperour and some others opposed his proceedings, he did not at all wonder: for the Prophet David had many Ages since foretold, That Kings and Nations should conspire against the Lord and against his Christ, and cast away his yoke from them. That when he did consider this and the like places of Scripture, he did rather wonder that any Prince did favour the doctrine of the Gospel. And to conclude, he craved a favourable Answer.

1525.

The King's Answer.

The King made a sharp Reply to Luther's Letter, accusing him of base Inconstancy. He stands in defence of his Book, which (he said) was in great esteem with many Religious and Learned men. That he reviled the Cardinal (a Reverend Father) was to be regarded as from him from whose impiety neither God nor man could be free. That both Himself and the whole Realm had found the profitable and wholesom effects of the Cardinal's endeavours, who should reap this fruit of Luther's railing, that whereas he loved him very well before, he would now favour him more than ever: That among other of the Cardinal's good deeds, this was one, that he took especial care, that none of Luther's leprosie, contagion, and heresie, should cleave to, or take root in this Kingdom: Then he upbraided him with his incestuous marriage with a Nun, a crime as heinous and abominable as any.

At this Answer (which the King caused to be printed) Luther grieved much, blaming his friends that had occasioned it; saying, That he wrote in that humble manner only to please his Friends, and that he now plainly saw how much he was mistaken. That he committed the like error in writing friendly at the request of others, to Cardinal Cajetan, George Duke of Saxony, and Erasmus, the fruits whereof were, that he made them the more violent. That he shewed himself a fool, in hoping to find Piety and Zeal in Princes Courts, in seeking CHRIST in the Kingdom of Satan, in searching for John Baptist among the Cloathed in Purple. But being he could not prevail by fair means, he would take another course.

The late mention of Erasmus puts me in mind of a Book written by him either this or the year passed, at the entreaty of the King and the Cardinal (as he himself in an Epistle confesseth) entitled, *De Libero Arbitrio*; whereto Luther made a quick Reply, writing a Book *De Servo Arbitrio*.

A N N O D O M. 1526. R E G. 18.

1526.

A breach with the Emperour.

Many reasons might move the Emperour to seek the continuation of a Peace with England. The French (although they concealed it, their King being not yet at liberty) intend to revenge



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revenge their late overthrow : The *Turk* prepares for *Hungary*, the King whereof ( *Lewis* ) had married *Ann* the Emperour's Sister : Almost all *Italy* by the Pope's means combined against *Charles*, whose power is now become formidable : And *Germany* it self, the Boors having lately been up in arms, being scarce pacified, doth yet every where threaten new tumults. In this case the enmity of *Henry* must necessarily much impeach his proceedings. But many things again urge him on the other side : his Aunts disgrace; ( for of this he long since had an inkling ) the late League concluded under-hand with the *French* ; but that which swaied above all, was, the dislike of his promised match with the King's Daughter. That the Queen his Aunt might be reconciled to her Husband, there might yet be some hope. The League with *France* ( especially the *French* King's case being now so desperate ) might be as easily broken, as it was made : But this Match did no way sort to his mind, which he had either for love, or for some other private respects, settled elsewhere. *Isabella* Sister to *John* King of *Portugal*, was a brave beautiful Lady, and had a Dowry of nine hundred thousand Ducats. *Mary* was neither marriagable, nor beautiful ; yet her by agreement must he marry without any other Dowry than those four hundred thousand Crowns which he had borrowed of *Henry*. The Wars had drawn his Treasury dry, and his Subjects in *Spain* being required to relieve their Prince, do plainly ( perhaps not without subornation of some principal persons ) deny it, unless he marry *Isabella* ; one in a manner of the same Lineage, of the same Language and Nation, and of years sufficient to make a Mother. By way of service ( Custom growing to a Law ) they are to give their King at his Marriage four hundred thousand Ducats : if he will in this be pleased to satisfy their request, they promise to double the usual sum. For these reasons, when *Henry* sent Ambassadors to treat again ( whether sincerely or no, I cannot say ) concerning the renewing of the League, the Marriage of the Lady *Mary*, and of War in *France* to be maintained at the common charge of both ; *Charles* answered but coldly, and at last even in the very Nuptial solemnities sends to excuse his Marriage to the King, whereunto the undeniable desires of his Subjects had in a manner forced him. Some do farther add, that concerning that part of the Embassage, of War against *France*, our demands were such, as if they had been purposely coined by *Wolfsey* to force the Emperour to the priority of an apparent breach. For the King demanded no smaller share in the Conquest, than *Picardy*, *Normandy*, *Guien*, *Gascoign*, with the title of, King of *France* ; and that the Emperour partaking both of Peril and Charge should himself serve in Person. But *Charles* wanting money, and tired with continual peril, if he regard either his safety and ease, or his profit, must not give his assent, especially considering, that the captive-King made larger offers,

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The King en-  
deavours to  
relieve the  
French King.

offers, and those with Peace, than these, yea although he became victorious, with War, the event whereof being always doubtful, no man can assure himself of wished success. Neither indeed did *Henry* expect any other issue of his Embassy, than a flat refusal. For at the same time he deals with the Regent (the captive-King's Mother) to send over some trusty person, with whom he might consult of the main chance, which she gladly did, dispatching away the Lord of *Brion* President of *Rouen*, and *John Joachim* with a large Commission, and Instructions by all submissive and fair language to perswade the King to persist in the prosecution of this new League. For indeed she much feared, lest the consideration of his advantages over the tottering Estate of *France* might make him flie off again. *France* was already distressed: what would it be, if the Emperour pressing hard on the one side, and Duke of *Bourbon* a home-bred enemy revolting, besides many other occasions, the *English* should infest it on the other side? In *England* these Agents found their entertainments such, that they could not but hope well, especially making means to the Cardinal, who yet swayed the King. *Wolsey* long since disaffected the Emperour, but now made his hate apparent. *Charles* before the Battel of *Pavy* sent no Letters to the Cardinal, but entirely written by himself, and subscribed, *Your Son and Cousin*, CHARLES.

After this Victory he sent one or two, subscribed barely with his Name, without the usual solemn form, or any signification of favour or respect. These were evident tokens of an alienated mind, and *Wolsey* durst view hates with him. Neither did he deal otherwise with *Henry*, than as one beneath him, being now puffed up with the conceit of that great Victory, for the obtaining whereof *Henry* did bear a part in the charge, though indeed not so great as he promised. The King's affairs now stood upon those terms, that renouncing the strict alliance with the Emperour, hitherto by so many ties kept inviolable, he must make a party with the *French*.

*Brion* therefore at the Council-Table having audience, Deplores his Prince's calamity, and the miseries inflicted upon his Countrey by their late overthrow. He calleth to mind what Trophies the *English* erected in *France*, when the Estate of it was most flourishing, withal acknowledging, that *France* being now as it were in the Sun-set of its Fortune, occasion was offered of advancing the *English* Colours farther than ever. But it would neither beseem so magnanimous a King, nor would it be for the good of *England*, at this time to invade it. A generous mind scorneth to insult over one already dejected. Neither would the Victory, beside the fortune of war, want its dangers, being to be communicated with one, already become so potent, that no less, than the united Forces of all *Europe* would serve to stop the current of his fortune; which must necessarily be done, unless we could be content willingly to undergo the miseries of a Spanish servitude. He therefore



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craved of his Majesty, that leaving the Emperour (who puffed up with his late success, contemned his best Friends) he would vouchsafe to make a League with the King his Master, whom in this so great a time of need if he would be pleased to raise as it were from the ground, he should by so great a benefit oblige him to a faithful Friendship, which he should upon all occasions be ready to manifest, unless for foul Ingratitude he had rather undergo the censure of the Christian world.

Having delivered thus much in Latin, Sir Thomas More (afterward Lord Chancellor) returned this answer in Latin likewise:

*That the King was well pleased, that the French acknowledged he wanted not power to revenge old injuries; that having felt his Force, they should also taste of his Bounty; that he would do the utmost of his endeavour to set their Captive King at liberty. Whith if he effected, he hoped when he had occasion to make use of their King, he would not be unmindful of so good a turn freely done in so urgent a season. In the mean time he was content to make a perpetual Peace with them. As for the Emperour, he would consider what to determine of him.*

*A League concluded with the French King.*

So a most firm League is concluded with the French (the Regent undertaking for her Son) and a separation from the Emperour so openly made, that the first thing concluded between them was, That it should not be lawful for the French King in lieu of his ransom to consign any part of his Kingdom to the Emperour. The French were glad of this League, who now began to conceive some hope of good, being secure of England. Indeed it made so great an impression in the heart of Francis, that in his care of our affairs for many years together he shewed himself mindful of so great a benefit. These things were done in the Winter season.

*The French King set at liberty.*

A little after, Francis having been a year Prisoner in Spain, was upon these Conditions at length set at liberty:

*That as soon as he came into France, he should consign the Duchy of Burgoigne to the Emperour: That he should quit the Sovereignty of Flanders and Arthois: That he should renounce all his right pretended to the Duchy of Milan and Kingdom of Naples: That he should restore to his honours the Duke of Bourbon, and the rest that had revolted with him: That he should marry Eleonor the Emperour's Sister, Queen of Portugal: That he should pay the whole summs of money heretofore due to the King of England, his Sister the Queen of France, and Cardinal Wolsey; The payment whereof the Emperour had undertaken, that we might not be endamaged by partaking with him.*

For the performance of these and other things of less moment, Francis not only bound himself by Oath, but also delivered his two Sons, Francis the Dauphin, and Henry Duke of Orleans, who should remain Hostages in Spain until all things were duly performed. Francis, as soon as he entred into his Realm ratified all the Articles of the Treaty, but that concerning the Duchy of

*Burgoigne,*

*Burgoigne*, which he pretended he could not alienate without the consent of his Subjects. Having therefore assembled the Estates of the Countrey for the debating of this matter, upon a sudden in the presence of the Emperour's Ambassadors is publicly proclaimed the League made between the Kings of *England* and of *France*, the Pope, the *Venetians*, *Florentines*, and *Suisses*, (called the *Holy League*) for the common liberty of *Italy*. The Ambassadors much amazed, and seeing small hopes of the Duchy of *Burgoigne* (for which they came) return into *Spain*, and advertise the Emperour, that if he will be content with a pecuniary ransom, and free the two Princes, the King was willing to pay it; other Conditions he was like to have none.

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In the mean time *Solyman* not forgetting to make his profit of these horrible confusions, invaded *Hungary* with a great Army, overthrew the *Hungarians*, slew King *Lewis* the Emperour's Brother-in-Law, and conquered the greatest part of the Kingdom. For the obtaining of this Victory our Rashness was more available to him, than his own Forces. The *Hungarians* in comparison of their Enemies were but a handful: but having formerly been many times victorious over the *Turks*, they perswaded the young King that he should not obscure the ancient glory of so warlike a Nation: that not expecting the aids of *Transylvania*, he should encounter the Enemy even in the open fields, where the *Turks* in regard of their multitudes of Horse might be thought invincible. The event shewed the goodness of this counsel. The Army consisting of the chief strength and Nobility of the Countrey was overthrown, a great slaughter made, and the King himself slain, with much of the Nobility and chief Prelates of the Realm, and among them *Tomoräus* Archbishop of *Colocza*, the chief author of this ill advised attempt.

The King of  
Hungary slain  
by the Turks.

I cannot omit an odd jest at the same time occasioned by *Wolsey* his ambition. It was (but falsely) rumoured that Pope *Clement* was dead. The Cardinal had long been sick of the Pope, and the King lately of his wife. *Wolsey* perswades the King, there was no speedier way to compass his desires, than if he could procure him to be chosen Pope, *Clement* being now dead. *Stephen Gardiner* a stirring man, one very learned and that had a working spirit, did then at *Rome* solicit the King's Divorce from Queen *Catharine*. Wherein although using all possible means, and that *Clement* was no friend to the Emperour, yet could he not procure the Pope's favour in the King's behalf. Nay, whether he would not cut off all means of reconciliation with the Emperour, if need were, or whether being naturally slow, he did not usually dispatch any matter of great moment speedily; or peradventure (whereto the event was agreeable) that he perceived it would be for his profit to spin it out at length; or (which some alledge) that he was of opinion, that this Marriage was lawfully contracted, so that he could

Wolsey seeks to  
be Pope, Sede  
nondum vacante.



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could not give sentence on either side without either offence to his Conscience, or his Friend; the Pope could not be drawn to determine either way in this business. These delays much vexed the King. If matters proceed so slowly under *Clement*, on whom he much presumed, what could he expect from another Pope, one perhaps wholly at the Emperour's devotion? He therefore resolved to endeavour the Advancement of *Wolsey* to the Chair; from whom he promised to himself a success answerable to his desires. *Henry* therefore sends away speedy Posts to *Gardiner* with ample instructions in the behalf of *Wolsey*, willing him to work the Cardinals, some with promises, others with gifts, some with threats, others with persuasions, and to omit no means that might be any way available. But this was to build Castles in the Air. The messenger had scarce set forth, when report that had made *Clement* dead, had again revived him.

ANNO DOM. 1527. REG. 19.

1527.

Rome sacked.

THE sixth of *May*, *Rome* was taken and sacked by the Imperials under the conduct of the Duke of *Bourbon*, who was himself slain in the assault marching in the head of his Troops. The Pope, Cardinals, Ambassadors of Princes, and other Nobles hardly escaping into the Castle of *St. Angelo*, were there for some days besieged. At length, despairing of succours, and victuals failing, the Pope, for fear he should fall into the hands of the Lanquenets for the most part seasoned with *Luther's* Doctrine, and therefore passionate enemies to the See of *Rome*, agreeth with the Prince of *Auranges* (after the death of the Duke of *Bourbon* chosen General by the Army) yielding himself and the Cardinals to him, who kept them close Prisoners in the Castle. *Rome* was now subject to all kind of cruelty, and insolencies usual to a conquered City intended for destruction. Beside Slaughter, Spoil, Rapes, Ruine, the Pope and Cardinals were the sport and mockery of the licentious multitude. *Henry* pretended much grief at this news; but was inwardly glad that such an occasion was offered, whereby he might oblige *Clement* in all likelihood (as he had just cause) offended with the Emperour for this so insolent and harsh proceeding. Whereupon he dispatcheth *Wolsey* into *France*, who should intimate to the King, his perpetual Ally, what a scandal it was to all Christendom, that the Head of it should be oppressed with Captivity, a thing which did more especially concern *Francis* his affairs. The Cardinal set forth from *London* about the beginning of *July*, accompanied with nine hundred Horse, among which were many Nobles; the Archbishop of *Dublin*, the Bishop of *London*, the Earl of *Derby*, the Lords *Sands*, *Montegle*, and *Harendon*, besides many Knights and Gentlemen. *Wolsey* found the French King

1527.

Montmorency  
Ambassador  
from France.

King at *Aniens*, where it is agreed, that at the common charge of both Princes, War shall be maintained in *Italy* to set the Pope at liberty, and to restore him to the possessions of the Church, *Henry* contributing for his part thirty thousand Pounds sterling a month. Upon the return of the Cardinal, *Francis* sent into *England* *Montmorency* Lord Steward and Marechal of *France*, for the confirmation of this League, and to invest the King with the Order of St. *Michael*. He arrived in *England* about the middle of *October*, accompanied with *John Bellay* Bishop of *Bayeux* (afterward Cardinal) the Lord of *Brion*, and among others *Martin Bellay* the Writer of the *French* History, who in this manner describes the passages of this Embassage: *Montmorency* arriving at *Dover* was honourably received by many Bishops and Gentlemen sent by the King, who brought him to *London*, where he was met by twelve hundred Horse, who conducted him to his lodging in the Bishop of *London*'s Palace. Two days after, he went by water to *Greenwich* four miles beneath *London*, where the King oft resideth. There he was very sumptuously entertained by the King and the Cardinal of *York*. Having had Audience, the Cardinal having often accompanied him at *London* and *Greenwich*, brought him to a house which he had built a little before, ten miles above *London*, seated upon the banks of *Thames*, called *Hampton Court*. (The Cardinal gave it afterward to the King, and it is this day one of the King's chiefest houses.) The Ambassador with all his Attendants was there feasted by him four or five days together. The Chambers had hangings of wonderful value, and every place did glitter with innumerable vessels of Gold and Silver. There were two hundred and fourscore Beds, the furniture to most of them being Silk, and all for the entertainment of Strangers only. Returning to *London*, we were on St. *Martin*'s day invited by the King to *Greenwich* to a Banquet the most sumptuous that ever I beheld, whether you consider the Dishes, or the Masques and Plays, wherein the Lady *Mary* the King's Daughter acted a part. To conclude, the King and *Montmorency* having taken the Sacrament together, the King for himself, *Montmorency* in the behalf of *Francis* swore the observation of the League. The King bestowed great gifts on every one, and dismissed *Montmorency*, who left the Bishop of *Bayeux* Leiger for his King, to endeavour the continuance of the amity begun between these Princes.

Shortly after were sent into *France* Sir *Thomas Bolen* Viscount *Rochfort*, and Sir *Anthony Brown* Knight, who together with *John Clerre* Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, Leiger in *France*, should take the *French* King's Oath, not to violate the late League in any part, and to present him with the Order of the Garter.

We had now made *France* ours. Nothing remained, but to let the Emperour know the effects of the late Confederacy. To this end Sir *Francis Pointz* and *Clarencieux* King at Arms are dispatched away to the Emperour, to demand the moiety of the booty

War proclaimed  
against the  
Emperour.



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booty gotten in the Battel of *Pavy*, and the Duke of *Orleans* (one of the *French King's* Sons left Hostage for his Father) to be delivered to *Henry*; who had born a share in the charges of that War, and therefore expected to partake in the gains: To command him to draw his Army out of *Italy*, and not to disturb the peace of Christendom by molesting *Christ's* Vicar. This if he refused to do (neither was there expectation of any thing else) they should forthwith desie him. They execute their Commission, and perceiving nothing to be obtained, *Clarencieux* and a certain *French* Herald being admitted to the Emperour's presence, do in the names of both King's proclaim War against him. *Charles* accepts it chearfully. But the Ambassadors of *France*, *Venice*, and *Florence* craving leave to depart, are committed to safe custody, until it be known what is become of his Ambassadors with these Estates. The report hereof flies into *England*, and withal, that Sir *Francis Pointz* and *Clarencieux* were committed with the rest. Whereupon the Emperour's Ambassador is detained until the truth be known, as it shortly was by the safe return of them both. But Sir *Francis Pointz* about the beginning of the next Summer died suddenly in the Court, being infected with the Sweating Sicknes. The same happening to divers other Courtiers, and the infection spreading it self over *London*, the Term was adjourned, and the King fain to keep a running Court. But these were the accidents of the ensuing year.

ANNO DOM. 1528. REG. 20.

1528.

The inconstancy  
of the Pope.

**P**ope *Clement* was of himself naturally flow; but his own ends made him beyond the infirmity of his nature protract time in this cause concerning the King's Divorce. Bearing himself as neuter between the Emperour and the *French King*, he makes them both become jealous of him. And War being renewed in *Italy*, he perceives himself likely again to become a prey to the Conquerour. Which if it should happen, he must betake himself to the King of *England*, of whose help he was certain, as long as his cause did uncertainly hang in suspense. But if he should determine in the behalf of the King, would he in gratitude be as beneficial, as hope (or fear of offending) had made him? That he much doubted.

These thoughts possessing the Pope, *Cesar's* affairs in *Italy* began to decline, almost all the Towns throughout the Realm of *Naples* out of hatred to the insolent *Spaniard*, and affection to the *French*, making offer of their Keys, and receiving Garrisons of *French*. *Clement* therefore did not now much stand in awe of the Emperour, much against whose mind he was intreated to send a Legate into *England*, *Lawrence Campegius*, Cardinal and Bishop of *Salisbury*, who

Cardinal  
Campegius  
sent into Eng-  
land.

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who together with the Cardinal of *York* should have the hearing of this Cause so long controverted to no purpose. And the more to testify his affection to the King, he did by a Decretal Bull (but privately drawn) pronounce the King's Marriage with *Catharine* to be void. This Bull was committed to the Legate, with these instructions, That having shewed it to the King and the Cardinal of *York*. He should withal signifie to them, that he had authority to publish it: but not to give sentence, until he received new instructions; telling him, that he was content the King should enjoy the benefit of it (and it may be he was then so minded) but that it stood him upon to have this business delayed, until he had sufficiently secured himself from the Emperour. These were the pretences of the old Fox to the Legate. But his meaning was to make use of all seasons, and to turn with the weather. The ninth of *October* to *London* comes the Legate, the King having given order to the City for his solemn entertainment. But the old man's infirmity frustrated their preparations: he was grievously tormented with the Gout, and would be privately brought into the City. After a few days rest, carried in a Chair, he was brought to the King's presence, to whom his Secretary made a *Latin* Oration, wherein having much complained of the extreme cruelty of the Imperials in the sacking of *Rome*; he used many words to signifie, that the King's pious bounty shewed in his liberally relieving him in so needful a season was most acceptable to the Pope and the whole College of Cardinals. To this speech *Edward Fox* (afterward Bishop of *Hereford*) returned an answer in *Latin*, wherein he declared, That his Majesty was much grieved at his Holiness's calamity, *forasmuch as man is naturally touched with a feeling of another's miseries.* That He had not only performed what could be expected from him as a man; but had also done the part of a friend for a friend, and what was due from a Prince to Christ's Vicar on earth. He did therefore hope, that in regard of his filial obedience to the Holy See, if it should happen that He should stand in need of its assistance and authority, his Holiness would be pleased readily to grant those things, which it might become a Son to crave of the common Mother. Thus much passed in publick. The King and the Legates conferring in private, *Campegius* assured the King of the Pope's forwardness to pleasure him. *Campegius* was indeed no bad man, and spake truly, what he thought. For *Clement* knowing how difficult a matter it was to deceive a man that was no fool, by one conscious of the guile, and that was not deceived himself; made the Legate believe, that in this matter of the Divorce he would be ready to do for the King whatsoever he should demand.

After these passages, the Legates spent six whole months in consultation only concerning their manner of proceeding in the King's Divorce. In the mean time the King understanding, that among his Subjects, but especially the women kind, this his action was

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1528.

The King's  
Speech concern-  
ing his Dis-  
course.

much traduced, as if he took this course more to satisfy his Lust, than his Conscience; to give a stop to all farther rumours, having assembled all the Nobles of the Realm, Judges, Lawyers, and as many of the better sort of Commons as could conveniently attend, upon the eighth of November made an Oration to this effect:

Twenty years have almost run their course (faithful and loving Subjects) since we first began Our Reign among you: In all which tract of time we have by God's assistance so behaved Our Self, that we hope we have neither given you cause to complain, nor our Enemies to glory. No forin power hath endeavoured ought against you, but to his own loss; neither have we employed Our Arms any where, but we have triumphantly erected Our glorious Trophies. So that whether you consider the sweet fruits of plentiful Peace, or the glory of Our warlike exploits, we dare boldly avouch, we have shewed Our Self not unworthy of Our Ancestors, whom (without offence be it spoken) We have in all points equalled. But when we reflect upon the necessary end of Our frail life, we are surprized with fear, lest the miseries of future times should so obscure the splendour and memory of Our present felicity, that as the Romans did after the death of Augustus, so you may hereafter be forced to wish with tears, either that we had never been, or might have perpetually lived to govern you. We see many here present, who in regard of their age might have been parties in the late Civil Wars, which for eighty years together so miserably rended this Realm, no man knowing whom to acknowledge for his Sovereign, until the happy Conjunction of Our Parents did not resolve; but took away all cause of farther doubt. Consider then, whether after Our death you can hope for better days, than when the factions of York and Lancaster distracted this Realm. We have a Daughter, whom we the more affectionately tender, because she is Our sole Issue. But we would have you know, that having lately treated with Our dear Brother of France, concerning a match between this Our Daughter, and Henry Duke of Orleans his younger Son, both of Us were well pleased with this alliance, until one of his Privy Council made a question of Our Daughter's birth; for it was much to be doubted, lest she were to be held illegitimate, being begotten of Us and that Mother, who had before been married to Our deceased Brother: saying, it was utterly repugnant to the word of God, that any one should marry his Brother's Widow; wherefore he was of opinion, that this match with Our most beloved Spouse was to be deemed no other than incestuous. How grievously this relation afflicted Us, God the Searcher of Our hearts knows. For these words did seem to question, not only Our dear Consort, and Our Daughter, but even the very estate of Our Soul, which after death must necessarily undergo eternal and inevitable torments, if being admonished of so horrible an Incest, we should not endeavour an amendment; And for your parts, you cannot but foresee how great dangers by reason of this doubt do threaten you and your Posterity. Being therefore desirous (as the case indeed required) to be resolved in this point,

point, we first conferred with Our Friends, and then with the most learned in the Laws both Divine and Humane; who indeed were so far from satisfying Us, that they left Us more perplexed. We therefore had recourse to the Holy Apostolick See, to the Detree whereof we think it fitting, that Our Self and all others should be obedient. To this and no other end (we call immortal God to witness) have we procured this Venerable Legate. As for the Queen Our most beloved Consort, whatsoever women may tattle, or ill willers mutter in private, we do willingly and ingenuously profess, that in nobleness of Mind she far transcends the greatness of her Birth: So that if we were now at liberty and free for a second choice, we take God to witness, among all the plenty of the worlds Beauties we would not make choice of any other (if lawfully we might) than of this Our now Queen, one in regard of her mildness, wisdom, humility, sanctity of mind, and conversation (we are verily persuaded) not to be paralleled. But when we consider, that we are bestowed on the world to other ends, than the pursuit of Our own pleasures: we have thought it meet rather to undergo the hazard of an uncertain judgment, than to commit impiety against God the liberal Giver of all blessings, and ingratitude against Our Countrey, the weal and safety whereof each one should prefer before his private life or fortunes. Thus much have you heard from Our own mouth. And we hope, that you will hereafter give no heed either to seditious detractions, or idle rumours of the people.

This Oration took according to the divers dispositions of the hearers: some lamenting the Kings, but many more the Queens case, every one doubting, and fearful of the event. Some few weary of the present estate desired a change even to worse, rather than a continuance of the present. And by these the course the King had taken (not approved by the vulgar) as pious, and imposed on him by his own and the publick necessity, was according to the nature of hopeful flattery, most highly applauded.

ANNO DOM. 1529. REG. 21.

**A**T length about the beginning of April, the King residing at Bridewel, at the Black Friars in London began the Suit concerning the King's Divorce. There was that to be seen, the like whereof the Histories of no other Nation afford: A most puissant Monarch, actually Sovereign and bearing rule in his Realm, being cited by the voice of an Apparitor, made his appearance personally before the Judges. The Ceremonies in a matter so unusual, and indeed otherwise of great moment, require an accurate and large relation, beyond the intended shortness of this History. A Chair of State, whereto was an ascent of some steps was placed above for the King, and by the side of it another (but a little lower) for the Queen. Before the King, at the fourth

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step

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The Suit of the  
King's Di-  
vorce.



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step fate the Legates, but so, as the one seemed to sit at his right hand, the other at the left. Next to the Legates stood the Apparitors and other Officers of the Court, and among them *Gardiner* (after Bishop of *Winchester*) appointed Register in this business. Before the Judges, within the limits of the Court, fate the Archbishop of *Canterbury* with all the other Bishops of the Realm. At the farther end of each side were the Advocates and Proctors retained for each party: For the King, *Sampson* after Bishop of *Chichester*, *Bell* after Bishop of *Worcester*, *Tregonel*, and *Peters* Father to the now Lord *Peters*, all Doctors of Law: For the Queen, *Fisher* Bishop of *Rochester*, and *Standish* Bishop of *St. Asaph*, with *Ridley* (Doctor, whether of Divinity or Law I know not, but one) who had the esteem of a very Learned man. All things being thus formally ordered, the Apparitor willed by the Register to cite the King, cryed, *Henry King of England come into the Court*, who answered, *Here I am*. The Queen being likewise cited (*Catharine Queen of England come into the Court*) made no answer, but rising from her seat went directly to the King, to whom on her knees, purposely raising her voice that every one might hear her, she is reported to have spoken to this effect:

The Queens
speech to the
King before
the Legates.

Sir, I humbly beseech your Majesty so to deal with me at this present, that I may neither have cause to complain of Injustice, nor that you have debarred me the favour of your wonted Clemency. I am here a Woman and a Stranger, destitute of Friends and Counsel, so that plead for my self I cannot, and whom I may else employ, I know not. My kindred and Friends are far off, neither can I safely rely on any here in a matter of so great consequence. They that are here retained for me, are no other, than whom you have been pleased to appoint, and are your own Subjects; who if they would deal uprightly (which few will believe they dare do) yet can they not here withstand your determinate will and pleasure. But what have wretched I committed, that after twenty years spent in peaceable wedlock, and having born you so many Children, you should now at length think of putting me away? I was I confess the Widow of your Brother, if at least she may be accounted a Widow, whom her Husband never knew. For I take Almighty God to witness, and I am perswaded you cannot be ignorant of it, that I came to your bed an unspotted Virgin; from which time how I have behaved my self, I am content to appeal even to them, whosoever they are, that do wish me least good. Certainly whatsoever their Verdict may be, you have always found me a most faithful (Servant I may better say, than) wife, having never to my knowledge withstood your pleasure so much as in shew. I always loved those, whom I thought you favoured, without questioning their deserts. I so carefully farthered and procured your pleasures, that I rather fear, I have offended God in too much endeavouring your content, than that I have any way failed in the least performance of my duty. By this my observance unto you, if so be you ever thought it worthy of regard, by our common Issue, by
the

the memory of my Father, whom you sometimes held dear, I do humbly beg, that you would be pleased to defer the farther hearing of this cause, until having sent into Spain, I may thence be advised by my Friends, in this case what course to take. If then in Justice it shall be thought meet to rend me from you, a part of whom I have so long been (the apprehension whereof doth more terrifie me, than death) I will even in this continue my long observed course of obedience. But as often as I bethink me of the wisdom of Our Parents, by whose endeavours and consent this Match was ratified, I cannot but hope very well of my cause. Your Father was for his admirable wisdom accounted a second Solomon, neither can Spain throughout the whole Successions of the Kings of so many Kingdoms produce any one, who may parallel my Father Ferdinand: And what kind of Counsellors must we think these Princes had, that all should as it were conspire to hurl us into the miseries of an incestuous Marriage? No question was then made concerning the lawfulness of this Match, and yet those times afforded learned men, yea and (whereof to my harm I have had experimental knowledge) in holiness of life and love of the Truth far surpassing the Flatterers of these times. (Which last words she therefore spake, because she had heard, that all the Bishops of the Realm had by a common Decree pronounced against the Marriage. And indeed such a Decree subscribed and sealed by each of them was afterward in the presence of the King read publickly in the Court, Fisher Bishop of Rochester excepting against it, who denied, that he had assented to it, and objected forgery to the Archbishop of Canterbury for putting to it instead of Bishop Fisher's, a false Seal and a counterfeit hand.)

The Queen having spoken thus much, arising, after her due obeisance to the King, when every one expected she would have returned to her seat, made hast out of the Court. Every one amazedly wonders what the Queen intends. But before she had gone far, the King commanded the Apparitor to call her back again: The Apparitor obeying, the Gentleman who supported her, told her she was called; to whom she replied, *I hear it very well, but go you on. I cannot hope for justice in this Court: let them proceed against me in what manner they will, I am resolved not to stay.* So away she went; and would never after be perswaded to make her appearance either personally or by a Proctor. After she was gone, the King commended her in those terms, that might besit a great affection and her excellent virtues: Withal protesting how desirous he was to continue in that estate, so that neither his Soul nor the Common-wealth might be endangered by it. Here Wolsey interrupted him, beseeching his Majesty, that forasmuch as it was bruited, that he had perswaded Him to this Divorce, His Majesty would vouchsafe to signifie to the present Assembly how far this report was true. The King, although that he knew that in this fame lied not, yet to secure his Favourite from the general hate of the people, affirmed, the Bishop of Bayeux having first made scruple of it,

to

The Queen departed.

1529.

Reasons for
the Divorce.Reasons a-
gainst the Di-
vorce.The Pope's in-
constancy.

Wolsey falls.

to have first advised him to this course, and that the Bishop of Lincoln his Confessor, and other Bishops with whom he had conferred, did the like. These were the Acts of the first day.

This case was for a month or two held in controversy, the King's Advocates alledging, that

It was not in the Pope's power to ratifie this Marriage, which as prohibited by the Law of Nature the Scripture had pronounced unlawful: That Catharine had been lawfully married to Prince Arthur the King's elder Brother, and that the Nuptials were publickly solemnized, no man could deny; and many circumstances did manifest the consummation of the Marriage by a carnal conjunction.

On the other side the Queens Advocates maintained,

The Law which forbad the Jews to marry their Brother's wife, to be Judicial and not Moral, and therefore abrogated by Christ: but so far forth as the Church had retained it, it was by the authority of the same Church dispensable, especially being they were confident, that the forealleged consummation could no way be proved.

Thus each side pleaded, and time passed on. The King observes Cardinal Campegius to go more coldly to work than he was wont, from whom he before this expected the promised decision. But Fortune had since that turned her Wheel. The Emperour's affairs prospered in Italy, and Clement knew it was not the way to wipe out the remembrance of an old offence by committing a new. He found some other pretence to send one Francis Campana into England; but his chief errand was to will Campegius to burn the Bull, whereby the King's Marriage had before been pronounced void, and to return to Rome with speed. But the news of the Pope's sickness at the same time made him defer the execution of his Mandate. For if Clement should die, the Cardinal might with safety gratifie the King, who had conferred on him the Bishoprick of Salisbury, and to whom the Cardinal had promised success answerable to his desires: And if he should permit the King to be thus illuded, he feared he might be accounted, not only ingrateful, but also treacherous. But he shortly understood the Pope was well, whose Mandate he must obey, and the Bull as if for Heresie must be condemned to the fire.

In the mean time the King, who was deeply in love with Ann Bolen, according to the nature of Lovers counting each minute by the hour, quickly repented this change, and never rested, until he knew the whole carriage of the matter. Then first fell his wrath like thunder on Wolsey, whose Wit had hitherto made all his projects feasible: And he could not believe, but that it was in his power to effect this also. Here I cannot chuse but cry out with the Comedian,

ὧς ἀγαλὲν πράγμ' ἐστίν, ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοί,

Δέλον γένεσθαι παρὰ φρενέϊτος Δεσπότης;

Jove

*Jove and ye gods, how hard a thing
It is, to serve a raging King?*

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Full twenty years had *Wolsey* served the King, behaving himself so, that he grew powerful and wealthy beyond a private fortune, and to the rest of the King's Titles had procured the addition of that rich one of, *a good Prince*. For as often as I consider how laudably *Henry* had hitherto ruled, and behold the calamities of ensuing times, I cannot but accord with them, who ascribe the sway which he did bear over all the Princes of Christendom to the excellency of *Wolsey* his Counsels. But *Wolsey* being taken away, to whom shall we impute those effects of Lust, Tyranny, and Avarice; two Wives killed, two put away; so many (and among them many of the greater sort) put to death for their Religion only, extremity only differing in the manner used by Hanging against Papists, by Fire against Hereticks, (these were the terms of those days) and the Church (or rather the Commonwealth) horribly spoiled and robbed of her Patrimony? Certainly had *Wolsey* fate at the Stern, the King had never like a Ship destitute of a Pilot, been carried to and fro with such contrary and uncertain motions. But inordinate greatness is always a burthen to it self, the weight whereof is augmented by the usual attendance of publick *envy* and *hatred*, the misbegotten Elves of long and powerful happiness.

Wolsey, the King once offended began presently to totter, and at his first frown as at the roaring of a Lion (before any harder course was taken with him) was so dejected, that although he after seemed a little to lift up his head, yet was he never able to stand on his feet. Nay, the King being once alienated from him would never after admit him to his presence. Behold the power of base Detraction (yet I will not exclude the greatness of the Cardinal's wealth already devoured in conceit) which wipes away the remembrance of the faithful service of so many years, and the consideration of so great glory purchased to the King by *Wolsey's* labours. I am not ignorant what things were objected against him. But they carry so little shew of probability, that I should much suspect his judgment, that would give any credit to them. Until it was known that the King enraged at the slow proceedings in the cause of his Divorce, did day and night breathe out against him threats and revenge, no man ever preferred Bill against him; which, considering the usual severe courses held by our Parliaments, must needs acquit him of Abuse of Power. As for the causes of the King's anger, we will derive them rather from his own discontents, than *Wolsey's* faultiness.

The King by this time knew the treachery of the dissembling Pope. He had near five years wandered in the Labyrinth of the Court of *Rome*, and could find no clew to lead him out. He therefore

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The Legates re-
pair to the
Queen.

Their confe-
rence with her.

Her answer.

therefore determined to make a way where he could not find one, and like *Alexander* by force to undo that *Gordian* Knot, which by wit and labour he could not. To *Wolsey* therefore he communicated his intent of marrying another whether the Pope were willing or no, wishing him withal to find out some course or other, whereby *Campegius* his Colleague (notwithstanding the late Mandates to the contrary) might be drawn to give sentence on his side. Many things might be pretended to excuse the deed, but chiefly the fear of the King's high displeasure, which peradventure he should feel too, unless he assented to the King's just request. *Wolsey* his answer to this I cannot relate. But this is certain, that *Wolsey*, whether for that he did not approve of the King's intended course seeming (as the times were then) full of rashness and insolence, or that he would not undertake the attempting of his Colleague, or that (as *Sleidan* writes) the King had notice, that the Cardinal had advised the Pope not to approve of the Divorce from *Catharine*, forasmuch as the King was then resolved to marry another infected with *Lutheranism*: *Wolsey* I say was so sharply taken up and threatened by the King, that even then you might read in his face and gestures the symptoms of his waining fortune. For the Cardinal at that time returning from the Court by water, the Bishop of *Carlisle* being with him in the same Barge, complained of the heat which was then extraordinary; to whom *Wolsey* replied, *My Lord, if you had been but now in my place, you would have found it hot indeed.* And as soon as he came home, he put off his clothes, and went sick to bed. Before he had reposed himself an hour and half, the Viscount *Rochfort* came to him, and in the King's Name willed, that he and his Colleague should instantly repair to the Queen, and exhort her not to contend any longer with the King, for that it would be more for her good and the honour of them both to submit herself to the King's pleasure, than to undergo the disgrace of a publick judgment. For it was now brought to that pass, that longer deferred it could not be. The Cardinal advertised of the King's pleasure did arise, and with his Colleague went to the Queen, who having notice of their coming, went forth and met them. After mutual salutations, the Cardinals desired she would vouchsafe a few words in private, but the Queen refused to entertain any conference with them but where she might have witnesses of what passed. *Wolsey* then began to speak in *Latin*, but the Queen interrupted him, willing, that although she understood *Latin*, yet he should speak in *English*. So in the names of both Legates he began a Speech in *English*, wherein he professed a great deal of observance and duty to her, and that they came to no other end but to advise her for her good. The Queen answered them much after this manner:

As for your good will, I thank you: as for your advice, I will give you

you

you the hearing. But the matter (I believe) about which you come, is of so great importance, that it will require a great deal of deliberation, and the help of a brain surpassing that of feminine weakness. You see my employments (shewing them a skain of white thred hanging about her neck) in these I spend my time among my Maids, which indeed are none of the greatest Counsellors: yet I have none other in England, and Spain (where they are on whom I dare rely) God wot is far enough hence: yet I am content to hear what you have to say, and will give you an answer when we can conveniently.

So taking the Cardinal by the hand, she brought them into a withdrawing Room, where having attentively heard out their message, she made this reply:

That now after twenty years the lawfulness of my Marriage should be questioned, I cannot sufficiently wonder, especially when I consider who were the Authors of it: Many of them are yet alive both in England and Spain: and what kind of men the rest were, who are now dead; the world knows: Henry and Ferdinand our Parents the most sage Princes of their time, and their Counsel such without doubt, who for their wisdom were approved of as fit servants for so judicious Masters, besides the Pope, whose Dispensation I have to shew, and which was procured by my Father at no small rate. But what thing is there so sincere and firm, which envy will not seek to blast. Of these my miseries I can accuse none but you, my Lord of York. Because I could not away with your monstrous pride, excessive riot, whoredom, and intolerable oppression; therefore do I now suffer. And yet not only for this: for some part of your hatred I am beholding to my Nephew the Emperour, whom, for that he did not satisfy your insatiable ambition by advancing you to the Papacy, you have ever since maligned. You threatened to be revenged on him and his Friends, and you have performed your promise; for you have been the only incendiary and plotter of all the mischief and Wars against him these late years. And I am his Aunt, whom how you have persecuted, by raising this new doubt, God only knows, to whose judgment only I commend my cause.

This she spake in French, as it seemed very much moved, and would not endure to hear *Wolsey* speak in defence of himself, but courteously dismissed *Campegius*.

It was now June, and the Harvest drawing on; the Legates thought it high time to make an end of this Suit. A day therefore being prefixed; many of Nobility, and a multitude of the Commonalty repaired to the Court, verily expecting, that judgment should have been given for the King. Henry (having I know not how conceived some hope of the Legates good intents) caused a seat to be placed for himself behind the hangings, under the covert whereof he might unseen hear whatsoever was spoken or passed in Court. The Cardinals being seated, the King's Advocates earnestly requiring that sentence might be given on

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their

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Cardinal
Campegius his
Oration.

their side, *Campegius* made this Oration, well besecming the constancy of a man not unworthy of the place he supplied.

I have heard and diligently examined whatsoever hath been alledged in the King's behalf. And indeed the arguments are such, that I might and ought pronounce for the King, if two reasons did not controll and curb my desires of doing his Majesty right: The Queen (you see) withdraws her self from the judgment of this Court, having before us excepted against the partiality of the place, where (she saith) nothing can be determined without the consent of the Plaintiff. Moreover his Holiness (who is the fountain and life of our authority) hath by a messenger given us to understand, that he hath reserved this cause for his own hearing; so that if we would never so fain proceed any farther, peradventure we cannot, I am sure we may not. Wherefore (which only remaineth) I do here dissolve the Court: Other than this (as the case stands) I cannot do; and I beseech them, whom this Cause concerns, to take in good part what I have done. Which if they will not, although it may trouble me, yet not so much, as to regard the threats of any one: I am a feeble old man, and see death so near me, that in a matter of so great consequence neither hope, nor fear, nor any other respect, but that of the Supreme Judge, before whom I find my self ready to appear, shall sway me.

How the King was pleased at this you may easily conceive. It is reported, that the Duke of *Suffolk* knowing the King to be present, and conscious of his infirmity, in a great rage leaping out of his Chair, bountifully bestowed a volley of curses upon the Legates, saying, *It was never well with England, since it had any thing to do with Cardinals.* To whom *Wolsey* returned a few words, saying, *That it was not in his power to proceed without Authority from the Pope, and that no man ought to accuse them for not doing that, whereto their power did not extend.*

But the King's implacable anger admitted of no excuse: *Wolsey* himself must become a Sacrifice to appease it. As for *Campegius*, he tasted nevertheless of the King's bounty, and had leave to depart. But at *Calais* his carriages were searched by the King's command. The pretence was, that *Wolsey* intending an escape, had by *Campegius* conveyed his treasures for *Rome*. But the Bull was the Treasure so much sought after. The King could not believe it was burned; and if it were found, it was enough to countenance his second Marriage. But found it was not, no nor scarce so much money in all the Cardinal's carriages, as had been given him by the King.

Wolsey his rising and his fall were alike sudden; neither of them by degrees, but as the Lion gets his prey, by leaps. Shortly after the departure of his Colleague, upon the eighteenth of *October*, the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* in his Majesties name commanded him to surrender the Great Seal. But he pleaded, *That the King had by Patent made him Lord Chancellor during terms of life, and by*

Wolsey discharged of the Great Seal.

con-

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Sir Thomas
More Lord
Chancellor.The Cardinal
accused of
Treason.Wolsey's
Speech to the
Judges.

consequence committed the custody of the Great Seal to him: Never-
theless he would resign his place, if his Majesty so commanded. But
he thought it not fit, having received the Seal from the King, to
deliver it to any other, but upon especial Command. The Lords re-
turning to Windsor where the Court then was, the next day
brought the King's Letters, whose Mandate the Cardinal forth-
with obeyed. In this Dignity the six and twentieth of October
Sir Thomas More succeeded, whose admirably general Learning
is so well known to the world, that I shall not need to speak any
thing of it.

Wolsey being removed from the Chancellorship is presently after
accused of Treason, and that (which hath been seldom seen)
in the Parliament, that so without hearing he might be con-
demned by Act. But he perceiving the drift of his Adversaries;
procured one of his attendants *Thomas Cromwel* (he who after-
ward became so potent) to be elected a Burgess of the Lower
House. The Cardinal being daily informed by him what things
were laid to his charge, did by Letter instruct him what to an-
swer. *Cromwel* although no Scholar, was very wise and eloquent:
Which good parts he so faithfully employed in the defence of his
Lord, that the House acquitted him, and himself became fa-
mous; opening withal by these means a way to those Honours,
to which the current of a few years advanced him. Even they
who hated *Wolsey*, honoured *Cromwel*; whose wisdom, industry,
but above all, fidelity in defending his dejected Lord, was ad-
mirable.

Now the Cardinal because he would not be found a Traytor;
is fallen into a *Præmunire*. Whereupon he is thrust as it were
naked forth his own house, his great wealth is seized on by the
King's Officers; and he fain to borrow furniture for his house,
and money for his necessary expences. Judges are sent into the
house whereto he was confined, to take his answer to the ob-
jected crime, which was, that without leave from the King he had
dared so many years to exercise his power Legatine. To which
calumny (for can any man believe it to be other) he made this
answer:

*I am now sixty years old, and have spent my days in his Majesties
service, neither shunning pains, nor endeavouring any thing more,
than (next my Creatour) to please him. And is this that heinous
offence, for which I am at this age deprived of my Estate, and forced
as it were to beg my bread from door to door? I expected some accu-
sation of a higher strain, as Treason; or the like; not for that I know
my self conscious of any such matter, but that his Majesties wisdom is
such, as to know, it little befits the constancy and magnanimity of
a King for a slight fault to condemn, and that without hearing, an
ancient servant, for so many years next his Person, greatest in his
favour, and to inflict a punishment on him more horrid than death.*

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what man is he, who is so base minded, that he had not rather a thousand times perish, than see a thousand men (so many my Family number) of whose faithful service he hath had long tryal, for the most part to perish before his eyes? But finding nothing else objected, I conceive great hope, that I shall as easily break this machination of combined envy, as was that late one against me in the Parliament, concerning Treason. It is well known to his Majesty (of whose justice I am confident) that I would not presume to execute my power Legatine, before he had been pleased to ratifie it by his Royal Assent given under his Seal; which notwithstanding I cannot now produce, that and all my goods (as you well know) being taken from me. Neither indeed if I could, would I produce it. For to what end should I contend with the King? Go therefore, and tell his Majesty, that I acknowledge all that I have (but alas what speak I of what I have, who indeed have nothing left me?) or whatsoever I had, to be derived from his Royal Bounty, and do think it good reason, that he should revoke his gifts, if he think me unworthy of them. Why then do I not remit my cause to his Majesty's arbitrement, at his pleasure to be either condemned or absolved? To him then if you will have me acknowledge my fault, behold, I will make short work with you, I confess it. The King knows my innocency, so that neither my own confession, nor the calumnies of my adversaries can deceive him. I am therefore content to confess my self guilty. His Majesty from the fountain of his natural Clemency doth often derive the streams of his mercy to the delinquent: And I know, though I should not desire it, He will regard my innocency.

Upon his confession, the penalty of the Law was forthwith inflicted, only he was not, as the Law requires, committed to perpetual imprisonment. The furniture of his house of infinite value, incredible store of Plate and great Treasure had been already seized to the King's use. There remained nothing but the Lands wherewith he intended to endow his Colledge, the greatest part whereof were his own purchase, the rest were the demesnes of the demolished Monasteries. These Lands amounted to above four thousand pounds *per annum*, and were all confiscated. But God would not suffer so brave a work to perish. The King afterward bestowed on the Colledge in Oxford called *Christ Church*, revenues for the maintenance of a Dean, eight Prebendaries, a hundred Students, twelve Chaplains and Singing men, and four and twenty Alms-men, for which this Colledge acknowledgeth *Henry the Eighth* for its Founder. But the King arrogated to himself what was truly to be ascribed to the Cardinal; who was now in the case of the poor Mouse, whom the Cat intends to devour. The King had marked him out for destruction, yet permitted him to live, but so, as that he could never escape, and yet never despair of escaping. Scarce any day throughout those few months passed, wherein he endured not something or other, that would have animated a senseless thing with anger: neither

was

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Wolsey falls  
sick.

was the Cardinal composed of patience, yet did he never despair. His sorrows were always tempered with some mixture of joy: For he was often visited from the King, but that very secretly, and commonly by night; often certified of the King's affection towards him, in token whereof the Visitants did sometimes from the King present him with a Jewel or some such thing; willing him to be of good comfort, for that shortly, they would assure him, he should be raised to his former degree of favour and power. Adversity at length prevailing, he fell into a disease, from the extremity whereof few expected his recovery. And the King demanding of one of his Physicians (whose patient the Cardinal was) what disease *Wolsey* had, the Doctor replied, *What disease soever he hath, if you desire his death, you may be secure, for I promise you he will not live to see the end of three days more.* The King striking the table with his hand, cried out, *I had rather lose twenty thousand Pounds than he should dye: Make hast therefore you, and as many other Physicians as are about the Court, and by all means endeavour his recovery.* The Physician then certifying him, that he was sick, more in mind, than body; the King dispatched away a Gentleman with a Ring, which *Wolsey* had formerly given to him, willing him withal to tell the Cardinal, that the King's anger was now past, who was sorry that he had so long given ear to detraction; and that he should shortly find, that the King's affection towards him was no less, than when he flourished most in the sun-shine of his favour. The same comfortable words being again and again ingeminated by divers others sent for that purpose, the Cardinal in a few days recovered his former health.

At Court each one aspired to rise by *Wolsey* his fall. But now jealous lest the King intended a real and sincere reconciliation, and fearing revenge from him whom they had injured, work all their wits to supplant him. At, or about *London* he was too near the Court, some trick must be had to send him farther. *Winchester* (the Bishoprick whereof he held in *Commendam*) was not far enough off. Why then should he not (said they) being not detained at *London* as Lord Chancellor, betake himself to the government of his Archbishoprick of *York*? So having a thousand Pounds assigned him by the King (whose Council thought Marks sufficient) about the end of *March* in the ensuing year he set forward towards *York*. Of all his Livings they leave him only the Archbishoprick of *York* wherewith to maintain him, the revenues whereof might be valued at four thousand Pounds *per annum*. The speech of *Seneca* concerning *Apicius*, why may I not apply it to the present state of *Wolsey*? *How great was his Luxury, who deemed the income of four thousand Pounds, poverty?*

Wolsey is con-  
fined to York.

And now it were requisite that we should proceed to the year 1530. But let us first behold the end of this great Cardinal. That Summer



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Summer he spent at *Cawood*, a Mannor-house belonging to the See of *York*, where by his mildness, justice, and liberality, he did so win the hearts of his Diocesans, that he was both admired and loved. He seemed to be much delighted with this solitary confinement; for that having hitherto been tossed in the Court to and fro as in a tempest, he had now escaped, not from shipwreck to a Rock, but to his desired Haven of repose. Yet notwithstanding upon any the least hope of recovering his former power (although he professed, that converted by an Anchorite of *Richmond* he had bid adieu to the vanities of the World) he could not conceal the greatness of his joy. That he failed of his hopes (which indeed were none of the least) I cannot assent to them, who impute it to the importunity of his potent Adversaries. For to what end served so many messages full of gracious and reconciliatory promises, but ever intermixed with insufferable disgraces the forerunners of a dire Catastrophe? Certainly to no other, than that he might be wrought one way or other to approve of, and give sentence for the King's Divorce (at least) as Archbishop *Cranmer* after did.

The Cardinal  
is apprehended.

But this course not prevailing, they intend a second accusation of Treason. To this purpose the Earl of *Northumberland* is sent to apprehend, and (as he was amazed at this sudden change) bring him to his answer to *London*. But by the way he fell sick of a disease, which at *Leicester-Abbey* secured him from all other. Being near his end, it is reported Sir *William Kingston* (who lately came thither with some of the King's Guard) exhorted him to be of good comfort, for that the King (in whose name he saluted him) had sent for him to no other end, but that he might clear himself from those things, which malice and detraction had forged against him: neither did he doubt, but that shortly he should see him more potent than ever, if out of pusillanimity he gave not too much scope to the violence of his discontented passions. Whereto the Cardinal in these his last words replied:

His last words.

*I am as truly glad to hear of his Majesty's health, as I truly know my death to be at hand; I have now been eight days together troubled with a Flux accompanied with a continual Fever, which kind of disease, if within eight days it remit nothing of its wonted violence, by the consent of all Physicians threatneth no less than death, peradventure an evil beyond death, distraction. But grown weak, and my disease raging more and more, I do each minute expect, when God will be pleased to free this sinful soul from this loathsome prison of the body. But should my life be a little prolonged, do you think I perceive not what traps are laid for me? You Sir William (if I mistake not) are Lieutenant of the Tower, and I guess for what you come. But God hath justly rewarded me for neglecting my due service to him, and wholly applying my self to his Majesty's pleasure. Woe is me, wretch and sot that I am, who have been ungrateful to the King of kings! whom if I had served with that*

1529.

that due devout observance that befits a Christian, he would not have forsaken me in the evening of my age. I would I might be a general example (even to the King himself) how slipperily they stand in this world, who do not above all things rely upon the firm support of GOD's Favour and Providence. Salute his Majesty from me, and deliver this my last petition unto him, which is, That he live mindful of the tryal he must undergo before GOD's high Tribunal; so shall he by the secret testimony of his own conscience free me from those crimes wherewith my adversaries seek to burthen me.

More he would have spoken, but his speech failed him, and death presently ensued. His body apparelled in his Pontifical Robes, after it had all that day (for he expired at the very break of day) been exposed to open view, was at midnight without any solemnity buried in our Ladies Chappel, in the Church of the Monastery. Thus unhappily ended Cardinal *Wolsey*, his long happy life; than whom *England*, no nor I believe all *Europe*, if you except the Bishops of *Rome*, ever saw a more potent Prelate. His retinue consisted of near about a thousand persons, among which were one Earl, commonly nine Barons, many Knights and Gentlemen, and of Officers belonging to his house above four hundred, besides their Servants, which far exceeded the former number. His Chappel was served by a Dean, a Sub-dean, a Chanter, thirty five Singers, whereof thirteen were Clergy, twelve Lay, and ten Choristers, four Sextons, beside sixteen Chaplains (the most sufficient for their Learning throughout all *England*) two Cross-bearers, and as many Pillar-bearers. But nothing doth manifest his wealth and greatness so much as do his stately and incomparable Buildings. We have already spoken of his Colledges. *Whitehal* (then called *York-house*, as belonging to the Archbishop) the place where our Kings do most reside, was almost wholly built by him. *Hampton-Court*, the neatest pile of all the King's houses, he raised entirely from the ground, and having furnished it with most rich householdstuff, gave it to the King. It was a gift fitter for a King to take, than for a subject to give. But in the opinion of the vulgar the Monument which he intended for the King far surpassed all these: It was of solid Brass, but unfinished, and is to be seen in *Henry* the Eighth his Chappel in the Church of *Windsor*. That three of his Children reigning after him, none of them undertook by perfecting it to cover the (as it were) unburied bones of their Father, what may we think, but that the excessive charge of it deterred them? But upon a farther inquiry we may more justly ascribe it to the especial judgment of the Divine Providence, who had decreed, that he who had so horribly spoiled the Church, should alone be debarred the honour afforded to each of his Predecessors in the Church. And thus much concerning *Wolsey*, who died the thirtieth of November, 1530.

He dieth.

And is buried.

His greatness.

His buildings.

In



1529.

*The Peace of  
Cambray.*

In the mean time in *June*, Anno 1529, after long debating the matter to and fro, by the mediation of *Louyse* the French King's Mother, and *Margaret* Aunt to the Emperour; these two Princes are drawn to an accord, and a Peace is concluded between them at *Cambray*, thence commonly called *The Peace of Cambray*, but by us, *The Peace of Women*. The chief Conditions whereof, and that any way concerned us were;

*That the French King should give to the Emperour for the freedom of his Children (who had been three years Hostages in Spain for their Father) two millions of Crowns, whereof he should pay four hundred thousand (due from the Emperour by the League made Anno 1522) to Henry and his Sister Mary Dowager of France. Beside which huge sum he should also acquit the Emperour of five hundred thousand, which he did owe to our King for the indemnity of the Marriage between the Emperour and the Lady Mary the King's Daughter, whom (having been long since contracted) he left, to marry with the Daughter of Portugal: And that he should disengage and restore to the Emperour the Flower-de-Lys of gold enriched with precious stones, and a piece of our Saviour's Cross, which Philip, truly called, The Good Duke of Burgoigne the Emperour's Father being driven into England by contrary winds, had engaged to Henry the Seventh for fifty thousand Crowns.*

So that the sum to be paid to *Henry* amounted to nine hundred and fifty thousand Crowns, besides sixteen hundred thousand more to be paid to the Emperour at the very instant of the delivery of the French King's Children. The total sum was two millions five hundred fifty thousand Crowns, which of our money make seven hundred sixty five thousand Pounds.

*Francis* not knowing which way suddenly to raise so huge a mass, by his Ambassadors intreated our King to be pleased to stay some time for his moneys. But *Henry* was much moved, that he had not been made acquainted with this Treaty: notwithstanding his secret designs made him temper his choler, nay, and with incredible liberality to grant more than was demanded. For he absolutely forgave him the five hundred thousand Crowns due for the not marrying his Daughter, he gave the Flower-de-Lys to his God-son *Henry* Duke of *Orleans*, and left the other four hundred thousand to be paid by equal portions in five years. The Pope had lately by his Legates deluded *Henry*, who was thereupon much discontented not knowing what course to run. And this is thought to be the cause of his so extraordinary liberality toward the French.

*The first occa-  
sion of Cran-  
mer's rising.*

The King being then in progress, and hunting at *Waltham*, it happened that *Stephen Gardiner* Principal Secretary of Estate (after Bishop of *Winton*) and *Fox* the King's Almoner (after Bishop of *Hereford*) were billeted in the house of a Gentleman named *Cressley*, who had sent his two Sons to be brought up at *Cambridge*, under

under the tutelage of *Thomas Cranmer* Doctor in Divinity, a man both very learned and virtuous. The Plague then spreading it self in *Cambridge*, *Cranmer* with his two Pupils betook himself to *Mr. Cressy* their Father his house: Where *Garainer* and *Fox* among other table-talk discoursing of the King's Suit concerning his Divorce, which had so many years depended in the Court of *Rome* undecided, *Cranmer* said; that he wondred the King required not the opinions of the most famous learned men that were any where to be found (of whom the world had many far more learned than the Pope) and followed not their judgments. What *Cranmer* had as it were let fall by chance they report to the King, who suddenly apprehending it, said, that this fellow, whosoever he was, had hit the nail on the head, and withal demanding his name, caused *Cranmer* to be sent for, whom he commended for his (but too late) advice, which course if he had taken but five years before, he should now have had an hundred thousand Pounds in his Purse, which he had unprofitably in this Suit cast away on the Court of *Rome*: he commands *Cranmer* to write a Tract concerning this Question, wherein having drawn together what Reasons he could for the confirmation of his advice, he should conclude with his own opinion. *Cranmer* did it very readily, and is thereupon with *Sir Thomas Bolen* (lately created Earl of *Wiltshire*) *Carne*, *Stokesley*, and *Benet*, Doctors of Law, with others sent on an Embassie to *Rome*: *Cranmer's* Book is to be presented to his Holiness, and they are commanded to challenge the Court of *Rome* to a Disputation, wherein the Contents of that Book should be maintained; the Argument whereof was, *That by the authority of holy Scripture, ancient Fathers, and Councils, it was utterly unlawful for any man to marry his Brother's Widow, and that no such marriage could be licensed or authorized, by the Pope's Dispensation.* This being done, the King's intent was, they should procure the opinions of all the Universities throughout *Europe*, by whom if he found his former Marriage condemned, then without farther expecting the approbation of the Sec of *Rome*, he was resolved to run the hazard of a second. To this the amity of the *French* seeming very conducive, the King had by his former liberality sought to oblige him. The Ambassadors came to *Rome*, had audience, were promised a publick Disputation, whereof they were held so long in expectation, that perceiving their stay there to be to little purpose, they all returned into *England*; except *Cranmer*, who with the same instructions that he had formerly been sent to the Pope, was to go to the Emperour; whose Court was then in *Germany*. There this good and learned man, hitherto no friend to *Luther*, while he defends his own Book and the King's Divorce, against the most learned either of Protestants or Papists, is thought to have been seasoned with the leaven of that Doctrine, for which after he had been



1529.

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Creation of
Earls.

twenty years Archbishop of *Canterbury*, he was most cruelly burned.

While *Cranmer* thus laboured abroad, the King at home deals with *Langey* the *French* Ambassador, by whose means (with the forcible Rhetorick (saith one) of some *English* Angels) he obtained of the Universities of *Paris*, with the rest throughout *France*, *Pavia*, *Padua*, *Bononia*, and others, this Conclusion, That the Pope (who hath no power over the Positive Law of God) could not by his Dispensation ratifie a Marriage contracted between a Brother and a Brother's Widow, it being forbidden by the expresse words of Scripture.

The eighth of *December* the King graced three noble and worthy men with new Titles of Honour. *Thomas Bolen* Viscount *Rochfort*, the King's future Father-in-Law, was created Earl of *Wiltshire*, *Robert Ratcliff* Viscount *Fitz-walter*, of the noble Family of the *Fitz-walters*, Earl of *Sussex*; in which honour his Son *Thomas*, his Nephews, *Thomas* first, then *Henry* Brother to *Thomas*; and now *Robert* the Son of *Henry* have succeeded him: And *George* Lord *Hastings* was made Earl of *Huntingdon*, who left it to his Son *Francis* Father of *Henry*, who deceased without issue, and *George* Grandfather to *Henry* the now Earl by *Francis*, who died before his Father.

ANNO DOM. 1530. REG. 22.

1530.

The Bible
translated into
English..

VWilliam Tyndal having translated the New Testament into *English*, and procured it to be printed at *Antwerp*, had secretly dispersed many copies thereof throughout *England*. Whereat the Bishops and Clergy (especially those that were most addicted to the Doctrine of *Rome*) stormed exceedingly, saying that this Translation was full of errours, and that in the Prefaces and elsewhere it contained many things contrary to the Truth. The King being angry with the Pope, had long since determined to free himself from his usurped power. And therefore admonished the murmuring Clergy to correct this Book, not to suppress it: for it was a most profitable work, and very necessary for the discovery of the deceits of the Court of *Rome*, the tyranny whereof was become intolerable to all the Princes of Christendom. Whereupon he giveth order to the Bishops and some other learned men to set forth a new Translation, which his Subjects might read with safety and profit.

his Embassy
to the Pope.

The hope of prevailing with the Pope by the *French* King's means had drawn *Henry* to send on a second Embassage to the Pope, the Earl of *Wiltshire*, Doctor *Stokesley* Elect of *London*, and *Edward Lee*, *Wolsey* his Successor in *Tork*. They found the Pope at *Bononia* with the Emperour, but had no other answer to their demands

demands, than, that his Holiness when he came to *Rome*, would endeavour to do the King justice. Till then he could do nothing.

1530.

All commerce with the See of Rome forbidden.

Fair means not prevailing, the King runs another course. By publick Proclamation throughout the Kingdom he forbids all commerce between his Subjects and the Bishop of *Rome*; commanding that no man should receive any thing from; or send any thing (especially money) unto him, either by exchange, or any other means, calling him Tyrant, the Harpy of the World, the common Incendiary, and deeming him utterly unworthy of that glorious title which he had vaingloriously usurped, *Christ's Vicar*. This in *September*.

The Clergy fined.

But the wealth of the Clergy being very great; and considering how they had in the Reigns of his Predecessors strongly sided with the Pope, the King was somewhat jealous of them. To curb them he condemns the whole Clergy throughout the Kingdom in a *Premunire*, for that without licence from his Majesty they had been obedient to the authority of the Pope, in acknowledging *wolfey* for his Legate. The Clergy of the Province of *Canterbury*, being assembled in Convocation, buy their pardon at a hundred thousand Pounds, and in this Synod he is (with much ado) by the Clergy of both Provinces declared next under *Christ Supreme Head of the Church of England*, and all forein power or authority whatsoever disclaimed. The Province of *York* is moreover fined at eighteen thousand eight hundred and forty Pounds. So this one fault (if it may be so accompted, it being certain that *wolfey* was licenced to exercise his authority Legantine) cost the Clergy a hundred and eighteen thousand, eight hundred and forty Pounds.

The King declared supreme Head of the Church.

ANNO DOM. 1531. REG. 23.

THE only publick memorable occurrents of this year were; that the Laity, for the most part as deep in a *Premunire*, as the Clergy, were by Act of Parliament pardoned. In which assembly Sir *Thomas More* Lord Chancellour, and other remarkable speakers related at large the Conclusions of the Universities concerning the unlawfulness of the King's marriage.

1531.

And yet perhaps the notorious villany of *Richard Rose* Cook to the Bishop of *Rochester*, might crave a place in this History, who with poysoned broth killed sixteen of the Bishop's servants. The Bishop himself (who was especially aimed at) that day contrary to his accustomed diet forbearing broth, escaped. The poisoner; according to a Law lately enacted, was thrown into a cauldron of boyling water. But the offence deserved tortures of a most exquisite strain.

Ff 2

ANNO

ANNO DOM. 1532. REG. 24.

1532.

The death of
William War-
ham Archbishop
of Canterbury.
Cranmer
(though much
against his
will) succeedeth
him.

Sir Thomas
More resigns
the place of
Lord Chan-
cellour.

ON the three and twentieth of *August* died *William Warham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to whom *Thomas Cranmer* at that time in *Germany* about the King's affairs, was appointed Successor. He was not so ambitious as to aspire to such a dignity; and some reasons made him unwilling to accept it being offered: He knew before he could be consecrated he must swear obedience to the Pope, which with a safe conscience he could not. He feared what would be the issue of this abrupt separation from the See of *Rome*. He knew the King's disposition to be violent, such sudden changes to be full of danger, and the Court (although he had not yet purchased the acquaintance of it) to be a meer School of fraud and dissembling. The King's pleasure must necessarily be obeyed, and if he slipped never so little, envy, the mischievous attendant of great felicity, would help him forward to a break-neck. *Cranmer* also having long since lost his Wife whom he had married in his youth, had taken a liking to a certain maid, Niece to *Osfander's* Wife, whom he intended to make his second Wife: yet he knew that the Canon Law permitted not Priests to marry, and made them incapable of holy Orders; who had been twice married. These considerations made him linger in *Germany* six whole months after the dispatch of his business, hoping that his absence might afford means to some other to work a way to the Archbishoprick. But the times were such, that they to whom desert might give greatest hopes of attaining it, did abhor this still tottering and slippery dignity: and even they who were already advanced to the like, endeavoured to betake themselves to the safety of meaner fortune; As did Sir *Thomas More* the Lord Chancellor, who by his continual earnest petitions obtained leave of the King on the fifteenth of *May* to resign his place; and Sir *Thomas Awdley* on the fourth of *June* was in his stead made Lord Keeper. *Cranmer* having privately married his Wife at *Norimberg*, at length returned into *England*, where the King's importunity prevailing beyond all scrupulous difficulties, *Cranmer* is (though much against his will) made Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Pope also by his Bull confirming the Election. He refusing the Archbishoprick, because he must take an Oath to the Pope, delivered the Bull to the King, protesting that he would never accept of any Bishoprick in *England*, but from the King, who was Supreme Head of the Church of *England*; and that he would not take any Oath that should any way derogate from the King's Authority. At length the subtil heads of the Lawyers found out a quirk whereby to save all: He must first by a previous Protestation except against this Oath (which was to be taken *pro formâ*) that it should not hereafter be any

any way prejudicial to him. Thus ascended *Cranmer* to the Archiepiscopal See, where he sat near about twenty years, until Queen *Mary* the Daughter of repudiated *Catharine* not only thrust this most innocent, grave, learned man out of his Bishoprick, but with a barbarous cruelty condemned him to the fire, as hereafter in its place we shall declare.

For the Tréatise of a more strict League between the two Kings of *England* and *France*, an interview is appointed between them. To this end on the eleventh *October* the King with a mighty train passed to *Calais*. The tenth day, after going to *Boloigne*, he was met half way by the *French* King and his Sons, and conducted to *Boloigne*, where the two Kings divided the Abbey between them. *Henry* staid there four days, and then brought *Francis* (in whose company were the King of *Navarre*, some Dukes, and Cardinals, a great number of Noblemen, and of others at least twelve hundred) to *Calais*. At *St. Joquebert* the Duke of *Richmond* (who was not at *Boloigne* with the King his Father) received them. After much solemn entertainment, and the interchangeable favours from each King to the Princes of each others company, from *Henry* to the King of *Navarre* (or as the *French* write, to *Montmorency*) and *Chabot* the Admiral by the Order of the *Garter*; From *Francis* to the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* by that of *St. Michael*, these great Monarchs parted.

Jealousie of the Emperour's still increasing power had now united these Princes, and their natural dispositions wonderful agreeable had made them always prone to a mutual love, which by this interview took such deep root, that even in their own opinions they rested assured of each other. And indeed had they been private persons, their friendship in all likelihood had continued inviolable. But Princes are not so much to be swayed by their own affections, as the consideration of the publick Utility. The effect of this interview was an agreement to repress the *Turk* about that time wasting *Hungary*, to which end they should assemble together by their joint forces an Army of fourscore thousand men, whereof there should be ten thousand horse, with Artillery requisite for the said Camp: A specious pretext: For they both knew, that the *Turk* had already retreated. But in private they treated of other matters. They had both many causes of discontent. *Francis* not without cause was displeased with the Pope, and *Henry* thinking it best to strike while the Iron was hot, endeavoured an utter alienation between them. *Henry* complains first of the wrong the Court of *Rome* did him touching the matter of his Divorce, in the suit whereof full six years were now spent: and yet at length after all their deceits and mockeries, they seek to force him, either to go in person to *Rome*, or in a matter of so great importance to send Deputies, who should in the King's behalf follow the Suit. An insolent proceeding, and injury

1532.

An interview
between the
Kings of Eng-
land and
France.

1532.

injury without example, which did concern the *French* and all other Princes of Christendom. For in like cases hapning among Sovereign Princes, especially touching the conscience so near, it was the usual custom of other Popes to send Judges to the place, it being reasonable that the Persons should speak personally, and not by their Attorneys; and very unreasonable, that a Sovereign Prince leaving the rule and government of his Estates should go and plead his cause at *Rome*. Moreover he did complain of the intolerable exactions of the Church of *Rome* over the Clergy and people of *England*; whereby the yoke, before too heavy, was now become insupportable: neither did he doubt, but the same courses were taken in *France*. *Germany* had begun the way of freedom to the rest of Christendom: why should not other Princes follow their example? To conclude, he did instantly require, that they two should send their Ambassadors jointly together to the Pope to summon him to appear at the next general Council, there to answer his extortions, and by the authority and judgement of the Council to force him to a reformation; affirming, that there was no Nation in Christendom, which did not desire, that the insolencies of the *Romanists* should be repressed. To this the *French* answered, that he acknowledged these things to be true, but it was not in his power to yield to the King's request, yet for the brotherly love which he did bear unto him, and the charitable regard of his own Countrey, he professed himself ready to undergo all difficulties. He wanted not sufficient injuries whereof to complain, considering that he having so well deserved of the Apostolick See; but more especially of this Pope, yet he certainly found, that *Clement*, all this notwithstanding, was not well affected towards him. *Clement* had very lately suffered his reputation to be violated in his presence, and by the Bishop of *Verulo* had secretly endeavoured to alienate the *Suisses* his Allies from him. *France* groaned under the burthen of the new and undutiful exactions of the Pope's Officers, by means whereof all the treasure was carried out of the Kingdom; to the prejudice of his Subjects (the Clergy especially) who grew poor, the Churches were unrepaired, and the poor neither cloathed nor fed: and if he himself levied any great summ of money, the Tributes are longer coming in than usually they were wont. But he thought it best, before they proceeded to that harsh course, to use some milder means, whereto there was a fair occasion offered, the Pope having by the Cardinal of *Grandmont* made him a promise of an interview at *Nice* or *Avignon*; where if he could not obtain reason of him in the behalf of both, he would endeavour to prevail by force where he could not by just intreaties: In the mean time he desired him to attend the issue of their parley.

But *Francis* concealed the true cause of this intended interview, for fear lest our *Henry* not approving it, should seek to dissuade him

him from it. The *French* was implacable towards the Emperour, against whom to strengthen himself, he means to win the Pope by the marriage of his younger Son *Henry Duke of Orleans* (who after reigned) with *Catharine de Medices* Duchess of *Urbis*, the Pope's Niece. The Pope could not at first believe this potent Prince intended him so much honour: but perceiving the *French* to be real, he most eagerly farthered it, appointing time and place for the consummation of it, which was after done at *Mar-seilles* by *Clement* himself in the presence of the *French King*.

1532.

Catharina de Medices married to the Duke of Orleans.

ANNO DOM. 1533. REG. 25.

THE King's love brooked no delays. Wherefore on the five and twentieth of *January*, privately and in the presence of very few, he marieth the Lady *Ann Bolen*.

1533.

The King married Ann Bolen.

Shortly after by Act of Parliament the Marriage of the King and the Lady *Catharine* was declared void and incestuous, and a Law enacted, wherein all Appeals to *Rome* were forbidden, and that none should stile *Catharine* other than Princess of *Wales*, and Widow or Dowager of Prince *Arthur*. By virtue and authority of the same Law, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* accompanied with some other Bishops, coming to *Dunstable* six miles from *Amptill*, where *Catharine* then resided, caused her to be cited before him, next under the King chief Judge in all Ecclesiastical causes within the Province of *Canterbury*, to shew what reasons could be alledged why the Marriage not lawfully contracted between the King and her should not be disannulled, and pronounced impious, incestuous, and consequently void. To these things by one of her Servants she answered; that it beseemed not the Archbishop to thrust his sickle into another's harvest: this Cause did yet depend undecided before the Pope, Christ's Vicar on earth, whose Decree she would obey, and other Judge would she acknowledge none. Being called fifteen days together and not appearing, she is pronounced *Contumax*, and for her contumacy separated from the King's bed and company. Whereupon the Lady *Ann* proclaimed Queen throughout the Kingdom, on Easter-eve shewed her self publicly as Queen, and was at *Whitsontide* crowned with as great pomp and solemnity as ever was Queen: The particulars I will let pass, excepting that propheticall Distich upon one of the Triumphant Arches purposely erected in *London* where she was to pass:

*Regina Anna, paris Regis de sanguine Natam,
Es paries populis aurea secla tuis.*

In

1533.

In English,

*Ann, thou a Daughter bearest to our King,
And to thy people golden days shalt bring.*

The birth of
Queen Eliza-
beth.

Wafers also with the same impression were thrown about, saith *Stow*. But I rather believe, that this Distich was made after the Queens delivery. Whensoever it were, he that truly considers the felicity of the four and forty years Reign of this Queens Daugliter, will think this Oracle could not proceed from any but a *Delphian Apollo*. For the Queen at the time of her Coronation was great with child, (whereof the seventh of *September* she was delivered at *Greenwich*) which was that ever famous Queen *Elizabeth*, who after the death of her Brother and Sister so gloriously ruled this Kingdom.

The Pope was certified of all these passages; that his authority in *England* was abrogated, that the late Queen *Catharine* was put away, that *Ann Bolen* as Queen was taken to the King's bed, that the King stiled himself *Supreme Head of the Church of England*, that the Archbishop of *Canterbury* executed all those Offices which formerly the Pope only did, and that not as the Pope's Legate, but as Primate of *England*, who under the King claimed chief authority in Ecclesiastical affairs throughout his whole Province. Wherewith being netled, he seemed to breath nothing but threats and revenge. But knowing himself to have been the motive of it, and doubtful of the event, he was easily perswaded by the *French King*, as yet not to proceed by Excommunication against *Henry*, until he had made trial of some milder course: Whereupon *Francis* by *Bellay* Bishop of *Paris* intreats *Henry* not to withdraw himself wholly from the obedience of *Rome*, for as much as it was a matter of great danger: He would therefore advise him once more by Ambassadors to *Rome*, to signify that he was not utterly averse from a reconciliation: which if he did, he made no doubt but all things would succeed to his mind. *Henry* was certain of enjoying his Love, and let the Pope decree what he list, was resolved to keep her. He had been formerly abused by the Court of *Rome*, and was loath to make farther trial of their dilatory proceedings. Yet had *Bellay* prevailed so far with him, that he would be content once more to submit himself to the Church of *Rome*, if he could be assured of the Pope's intention to do him equity. The Bishop conceiving some hopes of a peace (although it were in the Winter time) goes himself to *Rome*, gives the Pope an account of his actions, and certifies him that the matter was not yet desperate. Whereupon a day is appointed, by which a Post returning from the King was to give notice of an intended Embassy. But the Consistory gave so short a time to have an answer, that the Post came short two days at his return.

The

The term expired, they proceed hastily to the confirmation of their Censures, notwithstanding the Bishop's instance to obtain six days more, for as much as contrary winds or some other chance might hinder the Messenger; and six days would be no great matter, considering the King had wavered six whole years before he fell: The more moderate thought the Bishop demanded but reason; but the preposterous haste of the greater sort prevailed. Two days were scarce past after the prefixed time, but the Post arriving with ample authority and instructions from *England*, did greatly amaze those hasty Cardinals, who afterwards would fain, but could not find any means to mend what they had so rashly marred. For the matter (to please the Emperour) was so huddled up, as that which could not ritely be finished in three Consistories, was done in one. So the King and the whole Realm was interdicted, the Bull whereof (the Messengers not daring to come nearer) was brought to *Dunkirk*.

The report hereof coming to the King, he lays all the blame on the Lady *Catharine*. Whereupon the Duke of *Suffolk* was sent to lessen her Household: They who might be any way suspected to have been employed by her in this business, are turned away, the rest are commanded to take their Oaths to serve her as Princess of *wales*, not as Queen of *England*. They that refuse are cashiered, and they that are content to swear, are by her cast off; so that for a time she had few or no Attendants.

In the mean time, on the three and twentieth of *June* died *Mary* Queen of *France*, the King's Sister, and was buried in the Abbey of *St. Edmundsbury*.

1533.

*Mary Queen
of France
died.*

A N N O D O M. 1534. R E G. 26.

A Bout this time was discovered the grand Imposture of *Elizabeth Barton*, which brought her to a deserved end. She had formerly been sick of a strange disease, which not only afflicted her inwardly, but as often as her fitt took her, so wonderfully distorted her mouth and other parts of her body, that most were of opinion, it could not proceed from any natural cause. But Custom growing to a second Nature, the continuance of the disease had taught her to distort her body after her recovery, in the same manner as when she was sick. Hoping to make a profit of this her counterfeit Convulsion, she imparted the secret to the Curate of the Parish: by whose device after long deliberation between them, it was agreed, that she should often feign her self to be in an Ecstasie: and whereas she was wont when the fitt seised her, to lie still without motion, as if she had been dead, she should now sometimes utter some godly sentences, inveigh against the wickedness of the times, but especially against Here-

1534.

*The Imposture
of Elizabeth
Barton disco-
vered.*

1534.

ticks and broachers of new Opinions; and should relate strange Visions revealed by God to her in the time of her Ecstasie. By these juggling tricks, not only among the Vulgar (who termed her the *Holy Maid of Kent*) but among the wiser sort, such as were Archbishop *Warham*, Bishop *Fisher*, and others, her sanctity was held in admiration. The Imposture taking so generally, her boldness increased. She prefixeth a day whereon she shall be restored to perfect health, and the means of her recovery must be procured forsooth by a Pilgrimage to some certain Image of our Lady. The day came, and she being brought to the place, by the like cozenage deceived a great number of people; whom the expectation of the Miracle had drawn thither: and at last, as if she had just then shaken off her disease, she appears whole and straight unto them all; saying, That by especial command from God she must become a Nun, and that one Dr. *Bocking* a Monk of *Canterbury* there present, was ordained to be her Confessor, which office he willingly undertook; under pretext whereof this Nun living at *Canterbury*, *Bocking* often resorted to her, not without suspicion of dishonesty.

The intended Divorce from *Catharine*, and Marriage with *Ann Bolen*, had much appalled most part of the Clergy: for then a necessity was imposed on the King, of a divorce from the Papal See, in which the Church and all Ecclesiastical persons were likely to suffer. The apprehension whereof wrought so with *Bocking*, that making others conscious of the intent, he perswaded *Elizabeth Barton* by denuntiation of God's revealed judgments to deterr the King from his purposed change. She according as she was instructed, proclaims it abroad, That the King adventuring to marry another, *Catharine* surviving, should, if in the mean time he died not some infamous death, within one month after be deprived of his Kingdom. The King hears of it, and causeth the Impostrix to be apprehended, who upon examination discovered the rest of the Conspirators, who were all committed to prison until the next Parliament should determine of them. *Elizabeth Barton*, *Bocking*, *Masters*, (the afore mentioned Curate of the Parish) *Deering*, and *Risby*, Monks, with *Gold* a Priest, are by the Parliament adjudged to die. The Bishop of *Rocheſter*, and *Adeſon* his Chaplain, one *Abel* a Priest, *Laurence* the Archdeacon of *Canterbury* his Register, and *Thomas Gold* Gentleman, for having heard many things, whereby they might guess at the intents of the Conspirators, and not acquainting the Magistrate with them, are as accessory condemned in a *Premunire*, (confiscation of their goods, and perpetual imprisonment.) *Elizabeth Barton* and her Companions, having each of them after a Sermon at *Pauls Cross*, publickly confessed the Imposture, are on the twentieth of *April* hanged, and their Heads set over the Gates of the City.

By

By the same Parliament, the authority of the Convocation to make Canonical Constitutions, unless the King give his Royal assent, is abrogated.

It is also enacted, That the Collocation of all Bishopricks, the Sees being vacant, should henceforth be at the King's dispose, and that no man should be chosen by the Chapter, or consecrated by the Archbishop, but he on whom the King by his *Congé D'eslire* or other his Letters had conferred that Dignity.

And whereas many complained, that now all commerce with Rome was forbidden, all means were taken away of mitigating the rigour of the Ecclesiastical Laws of Dispensation; Papal authority is granted to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the King reserving to himself the power of dispensing in causes of greater moment. And that all Appeals formerly wont to be made from the Archbishop to the Pope, should now be from the Archbishop to the King, who by Delegates should determine all such Suits and Controversies.

Furthermore, the King's Marriage with the Lady *Catharine* is again pronounced incestuous, the Succession to the Crown established on the King's Issue begotten on Queen *Ann*. And all above the age of sixteen years throughout the Kingdom, are to be bound by Oath, to the observance of this Law: Whosoever refused to take this Oath, should suffer loss of all their goods, and perpetual imprisonment.

Throughout all the Realm there were found but two, who durst refractorily oppose this Law, *viz.* *Fisher* Bishop of *Rocheſter*; and Sir *Thomas More* the late Lord Chancellor; men who were indeed very learned, but most obstinate sticklers in the behalf of the Church of *Rome*: who being not to be drawn by any persuasions, to be conformable to the Law, were committed to prison, from whence after a years durance they were not freed but by the loss of their lives:

But the King fearing that it might be thought, That he took these courses rather out of a contempt of Religion, than in regard of the tyranny of the Court of *Rome*; to free himself from all suspicion either of favouring *Luther*, or any authors of new Opinions, began to persecute that sort of men whom the Vulgar called Hereticks, and condemned to the cruelty of that merciless Element Fire, not only certain *Dutch* Anabaptists, but many Professors of the Truth; and amongst others, that learned and godly young man *John Frith*, who with one *Hewet* and others, on the two and twentieth of *July* constantly endured the torments of their martyrdom.

The five and twentieth of *September* died *Clement* the Seventh, Pope; in whose place succeeded *Alexander Farnese* by the name of *Paulus* the Third, who to begin his time with some memorable Act, having called a Consistory, pronounced *Henry* to be fallen

1534.

No Canons to be constituted without the King's assent. The King to collate Bishopricks.

The Archbishop of *Canterbury* hath Papal authority under the King.

Fisher and *More* imprisoned.

Persecution.

Pope *Clement* dieth.

1534.

from the Title and Dignity of a King, and to be deposed, reiterating withal the thunder of Excommunication, with which bugbear his predecessor *Clement* had sought to affright him. But this peradventure happened in the ensuing year, after the death of *Fisher* and *More*.

A Parliament is again called in *November*, wherein (according to the Decree of the late Synod) the King was declared *Supreme Head of the Church of England*, and the punishment of all crimes which formerly pertained to the Ecclesiastical Courts, is made proper to him. So the Kingdom is vindicated from the usurpation of the Pope, who before shared in it, and the King now first began to reign entirely.

First-fruits
granted to the
King.
Wales united
to England.

Also all Annats or First-fruits formerly paid to the Pope, are granted to the King.

And *Wales*, the seat of the remainder of the true antient *Britans*, hitherto differing from us (compounded of *Normans* and *Saxons*) as well in the form of their Government, as in Language, is by the authority of this Parliament (to the great good of both, but especially that Nation) united and incorporated to *England*. *Edward* the First was the first who subdued this Countrey, yet could he not prevail over their minds, whom the desire of recovering their lost liberty, animated to many Rebellions. By reason whereof, and our suspicions, being for two hundred years oppressed either with the miseries of Servitude or War, they never tasted the sweet fruits of a true and solid Peace. But *Henry* the Seventh by blood (in regard of his Father) and birth a *Welchman*, coming to the Crown, (as if they had recovered their liberty, whereto they so long aspired) they obeyed him as their lawful Prince. So the *English* being freed of their former jealousies permitted them to partake of their Priviledges, since common to both Nations, the good whereof equally redounded to both. I could wish the like Union with *Scotland*: That as we all live in one Island, professing one Faith, and speaking for the most part one Language, under the government of one and the same Prince; so we may become one Nation, all equally acknowledging ourselves *Britans*, and so recover our true Countrey *Britain*, lost as it were so many hundreds of years, by our divisions of it into *England*, *Scotland*, and *Wales*.

ANNO DOM. 1535. REG. 27.

1535.

THE Coronation of the new Queen, and other passages of entertainment, had exhausted the Treasury. The Pope and the Emperour were both enemies to *Henry*, watchfully attending all opportunities to do him mischief. Neither in regard that so many sided with the Pope, were all things safe at home.

The

The King was therefore forced to a course seemingly rash, and full of dangerous consequences, but very necessary for the time. He resolves to demolish all the Monasteries throughout *England*. He is content the Nobility should share with him in the spoil, so enriching and strengthening himself by their necessary revolt from the Popish faction. To this end, they that were thought more especially in maintaining the Pope's authority to withstand the King's proceedings, were condemned of high Treason; and they that refused to acknowledge the King under Christ, *Supreme Head of the Church of England*, are hanged. For this cause on the third of *May* were executed *John Houghton* Prior of the *Charterhouse* in *London*, *Augustine Webster* Prior of *Bevale*, and *Thomas Lawrence* Prior of *Exham*, and with them *Richard Reignolds* a Monk and Doctor of Divinity, and *John Hales* Vicar of *Thistlehurst*.

On the eighteenth of *June*, *Exmew*, *Middlemore*, and *Nudigate*, all *Charterhouse*-Monks, suffered for the same cause. And four days after, *John Fisher* Bishop of *Rocheſter*, a man much revered by the People for his holy life and great learning, was publicly beheaded, and his Head set over *London* Bridge. Our Histories hardly afford a president of the execution of such a man. But the Pope was the occasion of his death, who to ease the burthen of his now a years imprisonment, by the addition of a new Title, had on the one and twentieth of *May* created him Cardinal: The news whereof hastened him to a Scaffold.

The sixth of *July*, *Sir Thomas More* for the same stiffness in opinion with Bishop *Fisher*, suffered the like death. This was that *More* so famous for his *Eutopia*, and many other Works both in *English* and *Latin*. As for his conversation, the most censorious fault him in nothing, but his too too jesting (I will not say scoffing) wit, to which he gave more liberty, than did beseem the gravity of his person, not tempering himself in the midst of his calamity, no not at the very instant of death. After his condemnation he denied to give any thing to the Barber that trimmed him, affirming, *That head about which he had bestowed his pains, was the Kings: if he could prove it to be his that did bear it, he would well reward him.* To his Keeper demanding his upper garment as his fee, he gave his *Hat*. Going up the Scaffold, he desired him that went before him, *To lend him his hand to help him up, as for coming down he took no care.* Laying his head upon the block, he put aside his beard (which was then very long) saying, *The Executioner was to cut off his head, not his beard.*

The executions of so many men caused the Queen to be much maligned; as if they had been done by her procurement, at least the Papists would have it thought so, knowing that it stood her upon, and that indeed she endeavoured, that the authority of the Pope of *Rome* should not again take footing in *England*. They desired

1535.

The King begins to subvert Religious Houses.

Certain Priors and Monks executed.

The Bishop of Rochester beheaded.

Made Cardinal unseasonably.

Sir Thomas More beheaded.

1535.

Religious
Houses visited.

desired nothing more than the downfall of this virtuous Lady; which shortly after happening, they triumphed in the overthrow of Innocence.

In the mean time they who undertook the subversion of the Monasteries, invented an Engin to batter them more forcibly, than the former course of torture and punishment. They send abroad subtil-headed fellows, who warranted by the King's authority, should throughout *England* search into the lives and manners of Religious persons. It would amaze one to consider what villanies were discovered among them by the means of *Cromwell* and others. Few were found so guiltless, as to dare withstand their proceedings; and the licentiousness of the rest divulged, made them all so odious to the people, that never any exploit so full of hazard and danger was more easily atchieved, than was the subversion of our *English* Monasteries.

ANNO DOM. 1536. REG. 28.

1536.

The death of
Queen Catharine.
Queen Ann,
the Viscount
Rochford and
others committed.

THIS year began with the end of the late Queen *Catharine*, whom extremity of grief cast into a disease, whereof on the eighth of *January* she deceased.

Queen *Ann* now enjoyed the King without a Rival, whose death notwithstanding not improbably happened too soon for her. For the King upon *May-day* at *Greenwich* beholding the Viscount *Rochford* the Queens Brother, *Henry Norris*, and others, running a-Tilt, arising suddenly, and to the wonder of all men departing thence to *London*, caused the Viscount *Rochford*, *Norris*, the Queen her self, and some others, to be apprehended and committed. The Queen being guarded to the *Tower* by the Duke of *Norfolk*, *Audley* Lord Keeper, *Cromwell* Secretary of Estate, and *Kingston* Lieutenant of the *Tower*, at the very entrance upon her knees with dire imprecations disavowed the crime (whatsoever it were) wherewith she was charged, beseeching God so to regard her as the justness of her cause required.

On the fifteenth of *May* in the Hall of the *Tower* she was arraigned, the Duke of *Norfolk* sitting high Steward, to whom were adjoined twenty six other Peers (and among them the Queens Father) by whom she was to be tryed. The Accusers having given in their evidence, and the Witnesses produced, she sitting in a Chair (whether in regard of any infirmity, or out of honour permitted to the Wife of their Sovereign) having an excellent quick wit, and being a ready speaker, did so answer to all objections, that had the Peers given in their verdict according to the expectation of the assembly, she had been acquitted. But they (among whom the Duke of *Suffolk* the King's Brother-in-Law was chief, one wholly applying himself to the King's humour) pronounce

1536.

The Queen con-
*demned,**wish her*
Brother,
and Norris.

pronounce her guilty. Whereupon the Duke of *Norfolk* bound to proceed according to the verdict of the Peers, condemned her to death, either by being Burned in the Green in the *Tower*, or Beheaded, as his Majesty in his pleasure should think fit. Her Brother *George Viscount Rochfort* was likewise the same day condemned, and shortly after, *Henry Norris*, *William Brierton*, and *Francis Weston* Gentlemen of the King's Privy Chamber, and *Mark Smeton* a Musician, either as partakers or accessory, were to run the same fortune. The King greatly favoured *Norris*, and is reported to be much grieved that he was to die with the rest. Whereupon he offered pardon to him, conditionally that he would confess that whereof he was accused. But he answered resolutely, and as it became the progenitor of so many valiant Heroes, *That in his conscience he thought her guiltless of the objected crime, but whether she were or no, he could not accuse her of any thing; and that he had rather undergo a thousand deaths, than betray the Innocent.* Upon relation whereof the King cryed out, *Hang him up then, hang him up then.* Which notwithstanding was not accordingly executed: For on the thirteenth of *May*, two days after his condemnation, all of them, viz. the Viscount *Rochfort*, *Norris*, *Brierton*, and *Smeton*, were Beheaded at *Tower-hill*. *Norris* left a Son called also *Henry*, whom Queen *Elizabeth* in contemplation of his Father's deserts created Baron of *Ricot*. This Lord *Norris* was Father to those great Captains *William*, *John*, *Thomas*, and *Edward*, in our days so famous throughout Christendom, for their brave exploits in *England*, *France*, *Ireland*, and the *Netherlands*.

Her Execution.

On the nineteenth of *May* the Queen was brought to the place of Execution in the Green within the *Tower*, some of the Nobility and Companies of the City being admitted, rather to be witnesses than spectators of her death. To whom the Queen having ascended the Scaffold, spake in this manner:

Friends and good Christian people, I am here in your presence to suffer death, whereto I acknowledge my self adjudged by the Laws; how justly I will not say, for I intend not an accusation of any one. I beseech the Almighty to preserve his Majesty long to reign over you: a more gentle or mild Prince never swayed Scepter: his bounty and clemency towards me I am sure hath been especial. If any one intend an inquisitive survey of my actions, I intreat him to judge favourably of me, and not rashly to admit of any hard censorious conceit. And so I bid the world farewell, beseeching you to commend me in your Prayers to God. To thee O Lord do I commend my Soul.

Then kneeling down she incessantly repeated these words, *Christ have mercy on my soul, Lord Jesus receive my soul*; until the Executioner of *Calais* at one blow smote off her Head with a Sword. Had any one three years before (at what time the King so hot in the pursuit of his love, preferred the enjoying of this Lady beyond

1536.

beyond his Friends, his Estate, his Health, Safeguard, and his only Daughter) prophetically foretold the unhappy fate of this Princess; he should have been believed with *Cassandra*. But much more incredible may all wise men think the unheard of crime for which she was condemned: *viz.* That fearing lest her Daughter the Lady *Elizabeth* born while *Catharine* survived, should be accounted illegitimate, in hope of other (especially male) Issue, whereof she despaired by the King, now near fifty years old, she had lasciviously used the company of certain young Courtiers: nay not therewith content, had committed Incest with her own Brother. A strange ingratitude in one raised from so low degree, even to the height of honour. I will not derogate from the Authority of publick Records: But an Act of Parliament against her shall not work on my belief. Surely it carried so little shew of probability with forein Princes, that they always deemed it an act of inhuman cruelty. Especially the Estates of *Germany*, Confederates for the defence of the Reformed Religion; who having often treated with *Fox* Bishop of *Hereford*, and other Ambassadors, had decreed to make *Henry* Head of their League, and had designed an Embassy by *John Sturmius*, who should have brought with him into *England* those excellent Divines *Philip Melancthon* and *Martin Bucer*, with one *George Draco*, who should endeavour that and the Reformation of our Church. But having heard of the lamentable and unworthy (as they judged it) end of the Queen, loathing the King for his inconstancy and cruelty, they cast off all farther thought of that matter. I will not presume to discuss the truth of their opinion: But freely to speak what I myself think. There are two reasons which sway much with me in the behalf of the Queen. That her Daughter the Lady *Elizabeth* was seated in the Royal Throne, where she for so many years ruled so happily and triumphantly. What shall we think, but that the Divine Goodness was pleased to recompence the unjust calamity of the Mother, in the glorious prosperity of the Daughter? And then consider but the King's precipitated Nuptials the very next day after the death of his former Wife, yet scarce interred, and with whose warm blood his embrued hands yet reaked: Consider this, I say, and you shall easily be perswaded with me, that the insatiable Prince glutted with the satiety of one, and out of the desire of variety seeking to enjoy another, did more willingly give ear to the treacherous calumnies of the malicious Popelings, than either befitted an upright Judge, or a loving Husband. For it seemeth wonderful strange to me, that either the fault of the one, or the pleasing conditions and fair language of the other Wife, should so far possess the King, as that he should procure his Daughter *Elizabeth* to be by Act of Parliament declared illegitimate, the Matrimony contracted with both the former Queens *Catharine* and *Ann* to be pronounced

Lady Elizabeth disinherited.

-invalid,

invalid, and the Crown to be perpetually established on the posterity of the third Wife, or if the King had no Issue by her, that then it should be lawful for him by Will and Testament, to transfer it on whom he pleased. Parliaments were not then so rigid, but that they could flatter the Prince, and condescend to his demands, though unjust, even in cases which most nearly concerned the publick Weal. But servile *Fear* is oft times more ready than *Love*, which slowly moves by apprehension of *Good*, as the other is quickly forced by the apprehension of *Danger*.

1536.

*The King mar-
ries Jane Sey-
mour.*

On the twentieth of *May* the King married *Jane Seymour* Daughter of Sir *John Seymour*, who on the nine and twentieth of *May*, being *Whitsunday*, clad in Royal habiliments, was openly shewed as Queen. So that the Court of *England* was now like a Stage, whereon are represented the vicissitudes of ever various Fortune. For within one and the same Month it saw Queen *Ann* flourishing, accused, condemned, executed, and another assumed into her place both of bed and honour. The first of *May* (it seemeth) she was informed against, the second imprisoned, the fifteenth condemned, and the seventeenth deprived of her Brother and Friends who suffered in her cause, and the nineteenth executed. On the twentieth the King married *Jane Seymour*, who on the nine and twentieth was publickly shewed as Queen.

*Death of the
Duke of Som-
erset the
King's natural
Son.*

The death of this innocent Lady God seemed to revenge in the immature end of the Duke of *Richmond*, the King's only (but natural) Son, a Prince of excellent form and endowments, who deceased the two and twentieth of *July*; for whom the King a long time after mourned.

*Bourchier
Earl of Bath.*

*Cromwell's
Honour and
Dignity.*

In the mean time on the nineteenth of *July* *John Bourchier* Lord *Fitz-waren* was created Earl of *Bath*, whose successours in that Honour were his Son *John*, who begat *John* deceased before his Father, whose Son *William* is now Earl of *Bath*. At what time also *Thomas Cromwell* a poor Smith's Son, but of a dexterous wit, whose first rising was in the Family of Cardinal *wolsey*, in whose service by him faithfully performed, he grew famous, was made Lord *Cromwell*, many dignities being also conferred on him, to the increase of his estate and honour. For first he was Master of the *Rolls*, and principal Secretary of Estate: then Sir *Thomas Bolen* Earl of *Wiltshire* resigning, he was made Lord Privy Seal, and after that dignified with the unheard of Title, of *The King's Vicar general in affairs Ecclesiastical*. For the authority of the Pope being abrogated, many businesses daily happened, which could not be dispatched without the King's consent; who not able to undergo the burthen alone, conferred this authority granted him by Act of Parliament on *Cromwell*, not for that he thought a Lay-man fitter for this dignity than a Clergy-man, but because he had determined under colour and pretence thereof, to put in execution some designs, wherein the Clergy in all probability would have

1536.

*The beginning
of Reforma-
tion.*

*The subversion
of Religious
Houses of less
note.*

moved very slowly, and against the hair. He was therefore President in the Synod this year. Certainly a deformed spectacle, to see an unlearned Lay-man President over an assembly of sacred Prelates, and such as for their Learning *England* had in no preceding Ages known the like. For indeed *Henry* is for that much to be commended, who would not easily advance any one to place of Government in the Church, but whom his Learning should make worthy. By the authority of this Synod a Book was set forth, wherein (many points of Doctrine being proposed to be by the Curates expounded to their Parishioners) mention was made of only three Sacraments, *Baptism*, the *Eucharist*, and *Penance*: some Holy-days also were abrogated, and other things pertaining to Religion and Ecclesiastical discipline somewhat changed, wherewith many were offended, who preferred *prescript Errors* before the Truth.

The same time, the Parliament assembled the fourth of *January*, permitted all Monasteries, the Revenues whereof exceeded not two hundred Pounds a year, to the King's disposal; who causing them to be suppressed (to the number of three hundred seventy and six) entred upon their Lands, amounting to thirty two thousand Pounds a year, and selling their goods even at very low rates, (most men accounting it sacrilegious to set to sale the goods of the Church) raised above an hundred thousand Pounds. These things of themselves were distastful to the vulgar sort. Each one did as it were claim a share in the goods of the Church: For many who being neither Monks, nor relied to Religious persons, did receive no profit of Ecclesiastical goods, did notwithstanding conceive, that it might hereafter come to pass, that either their Children, Friends, or Kindred, might obtain the places yet supplied by others, whereas of these goods once confiscated, they could not hope that any commodity should redound unto them. But the commiseration of so many people, to the number of at least ten thousand, who were without any warning given, thrust of doors, and committed to the mercy of the world, was a more forcible cause of general distaste. Which notwithstanding of it self sufficient, was augmented by the malice of ill disposed and seditious persons, who in their Assemblies exaggerated these proceedings, *As the beginnings of greater evils; that this was but a tryal of their patience; as yet the shrubs and underwoods were but touched, but without speedy remedy the end would be with the fall of the lofty Oaks.* While these general discontents thus vented themselves in private, *Cromwell* in *September* sent forth certain Injunctions to the Clergy, by virtue whereof each Curate was to expound to his Parishioners the *Apostles Creed*, the *Lord's Prayer*, the *Ave Maria*, and the *Ten Commandments*, and earnestly to endeavour that they might learn them in the *English Tongue*. This drove these Male-contentments into such extremes, that

1536.

Commotion in
Lincolnshire.

that the midwifery of any occasion served to produce the prodigious issues of their madness. For in *Lincolnshire* the Commons being assembled about the beginning of *October*, concerning Subsidies to be paid to the King, as if the spirit of fury had generally animated them, they suddenly to the number of twenty thousand took Arms, forcing certain Lords and Gentlemen to be their Leaders, and to swear to such Articles as they should propound; such as refused were either imprisoned or put to death; as was a certain Priest, Chancellor to the Bishop of *Lincoln*. The King being certified of this Commotion, sent against the Rebels with great Forces the Duke of *Suffolk*, and the Earls of *Shrewsbury* and *Kent*, either to appease or suppress them. The rumour of an Army marching against them, so quailed their courages, that they sent to excuse themselves unto the King, pretending;

That their endeavours tended to no other than the safety of his Majesty, and good of the Realm: That he having followed the advice of bad Counsellors, had lately beyond the example of any of his Ancestors, changed many things in the estate of Commonwealth and Church: That having dispossessed the religious Inhabitants, he had demolished many Monasteries, where the poor had daily relief, and God was wont to be devoutly worshipped by godly men: That the Feasts of Saints instituted many years since, were profaned by his command: That new Tenets which the Catholick Church did abhor, were every where preached and obtruded to the people: That now in each aged person was to be seen the Emblem of Ignorance, who having one foot in the grave, were fain to betake them to their ABC Books, that they might learn new kind of Prayers never before used by any Christians: That many unjust and pernicious Laws had lately been enacted, and great Subsidies exacted both of the Clergy and Laity even in the time of Peace; which were not wont to be demanded but for the maintenance of Wars: That the Commons in general did distaste these things; and the rather; for that they conceived them to be but trials of their patience, and the beginnings of more insupportable evils. Wherefore they humbly beseeched his Majesty, whom they could not safely petition unarmed; that the Authors of these pernicious counsels might sit no longer at the stern, but that others who should faithfully endeavour the amendment of the aforesaid evils, might supply their places, and that it might not be any way prejudicial to them, that they had taken Arms, which even with the loss of their dearest blood they were ready to employ for his Majesties safety, and the defence of the Realm.

The King had a Spirit befitting his greatness, and perceiving them to shrink, could not dissemble the rage he had conceived at the presumption of this rascally Rout, who durst capitulate with their Sovereign, and seek to curb the unlimited power of Kings. Wherefore he roughly commands them, that without delay one hundred of their company, such as by his appointment should be made choice of, should be delivered up to his mercy.

1536.

Insurrection in
Yorkshire.

The performance whereof if they but deferred, nothing but extremity was to be expected. The report whereof made the Rebels disband, each one fearing lest himself might help to make up the number of this *Hecatomb*.

This blaze was yet scarce quenched, when within six days another far more dangerous, kindled by the same accidents, bewrayed it self in *Yorkshire*, where no fewer than forty thousand had gathered together, naming themselves *Fellows of the Holy Pilgrimage*; and that the specious pretext of Religion might palliate their madness, they in their Ensigns on the one side pourtraied the Saviour of the World hanging on the Cross, on the other side the Chalice, and the Host by them called the Body of our Lord. They surprised many of the Nobility, as *Edward Lee* Archbishop of *York*, (he that wrote against *Erasmus*) the Lords *Darcy* and *Hussey*, besides many Knights and Gentlemen, whom they forced to be sworn to their party, whereto it is very probable some of them were much against their wills, who notwithstanding suffered for it afterward upon a Scaffold. Against these Rebels were sent the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, the Marquess of *Exceter*, and the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, who endeavoured peaceably to compose all matters, and to bring this corrupt Body to its former temper without Phlebotomy. For they knew they were to deal with such a base sort of people, to whom if they gave the overthrow, yet would their Victory be inglorious; neither could they promise themselves so happy success against the most active and hardy bodies, and most enured to Warfare of the whole Realm: Besides, despair had cast them into the extremes either of victory or death, resolutely determining not to flie to seek an ignominious end at a Gallows, which if they escaped, they could expect no other than an accustomed miserable life, more intolerable than the most horrid torturing death. These reasons made these Nobles unwilling to hazard a Battel. But the Rebels desperate resolution admitted no parley, wherefore by consent of both Armies the Field was appointed on the Eve of the Saints *Simon* and *Jude*. Between both Armies did run a little Brook, so shallow, that on the Eve of the Battel it was in most places passable for footmen, even without danger of wetting their feet: But that night (God abhorring the effusion of so much *English* blood) a rain (and that no great one) fell, which so raised this little Brook (the like whereof never happened there before) that it became impassable both for horse and man, which hindered the meeting of the two Armies. This chance did so work in the superstitious and giddy heads of this Rout, that they perswaded themselves, God by this Prodigy did manifestly forbid their intended Battel. Wherefore pardon being again offered (as it had formerly been) as well to the Leaders and Gentry, as the rest who had been either authors or partakers in this Tumult, finding

Ed: Lee who
g. Erasmus ..

1536.

Scarborough-
Castle besieged.Rebellion in
Ireland.

finding it confirmed by the King, with promise moreover, that he would have a care that these things whereof they complained, should be redressed, they laying aside their Arms, peaceably repaired each one to his home. They in the heat of this their fury had for six weeks straitly besieged *Scarborough-Castle*; then kept by Sir *Ralph Evers* of the noble Family of *Evers*, who without any other Garrison than of his Household-servants and Tenants, and so slenderly victualled, that for twenty days together they sustained themselves with Bread and Water, manfully defended it against their furious attempts, and kept it until the Commotion was appeased. For which brave service the King made him Leader of the Forces appointed for the defence of the Marches towards *Scotland*; which he with great credit performed, until he was in the year of our Lord 1545 unfortunately slain.

Neither was the Estate of *Ireland* more peaceable than of *England*. *Girald Fitz-Girald* Earl of *Kildare* having been twelve years Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, was for some slight matters removed, called into *England*, and condemned to death; which punishment he through the malice of *Wolsey* had undergone; had not friendship shewed its effects in the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, to whose custody the Earl was committed. He having received a Mandate for the execution of the Earl, durst hazard the displeasure of the potent Cardinal, to save his friend. Wherefore he repairs to the King at midnight, desirous to know his Majesty's pleasure concerning the Earl; who not only disapproved the Mandate, but also pardoning the Earl, received him into his favour, and a few years after restored him to his former dignity of Lord Deputy. But these garboils happening in *England*, he is for as slight suspicions as before, revoked, and commanded to attend at the Council-Table, where by his answers he appeared not altogether so innocent, but that he was again committed to the *Tower*. Before his departure out of *Ireland*, the King had commanded him to substitute some one in his place, for whose faith and diligence he would undertake. He had a Son named *Thomas*, little above twenty years old, a haughty and stout young Lord, very ingenious, and exceedingly affecting his Father. To this Son, as to another *Phaeton*, he commits the guidance of his Chariot;

— Sed quæ non viribus istis

Munera conveniunt, nec tam puerilibus annis :

which indeed proved fatal to them both, and to almost the whole Family. For no sooner was the Earl imprisoned, but report (raised as is conjectured by his enemies) beheaded him, threatening the like to his Off-spring and Brethren, whose destruction the King had most certainly resolved. The author of this report was uncertain, and the young Lord as rashly credulous, who taking Arms, solicited the aid of his friends against the King's injustice.

He

1536.

He had then five Uncles Brethren to his Father; three of which at first dissuaded him from these violent proceedings. But passion had excluded reason; and they at length associate themselves with their Nephew, with whom they were involved in the same ruine. Many others flocking unto him, he had suddenly raised a great Army; wherewith marching up and down the Countrey; he robbed and killed them who refused to obey him: And among the rest, he permitted the Archbishop of *Dublin* to be murdered in his sight. The poor Earl already afflicted with a Palsie, was so stricken to the heart with the news of this Tumult, that he but a few days survived the knowledge of his unhappiness. The King levying great Forces, quickly curbed the unruly Youth; and after some months forced him to yield. His Uncles were either taken, or willingly submitted themselves. All of them were sent to *London*, and there brought to their answer. There goes a Story, that those three Uncles who endeavoured to restrain their headstrong Nephew, did half presume on the King's clemency, until in the passage demanding of the Master the name of the Ship wherein they sailed; and understanding it was called *The Cow*, bethinking themselves of a certain Prophecy, *That five Sons of an Earl should in the belly of a Cow be carried into England, never to return*; they forthwith despaired of pardon. The event approved the skill of the Wizard: For some enemies to this noble Family incensing the King, by suggesting, that he should never expect to settle *Ireland* as long as any of the race of the *Fitz-Giralds* remained, easily prevailed with the King for their Execution. In regard whereof I cannot blame *Girald* the Brother of *Thomas*, who trusting not to the weak plea of his innocence, then sick of the Measles as he was; sought by making an escape, to set himself out of the reach of malice. Being therefore packed up in a bundle of clothes, he was privately conveyed to one of his Friends, with whom he lurked until he found an opportunity of escaping into *France*; where he was for a time favourably received by the King. But long he could not be there secure, the Agents of *Henry* pressing hard, That by the League all Fugitives were to be delivered: wherefore he went thence into the *Netherlands*; where finding himself in no less danger than before, he fled into *Italy* to *Reignald Pool*, who maintained and used him very nobly; and at length procured him to be restored to his Countrey and the Honors of his Ancestors.

Cardinal Pool.

The mention of *Pool* falls fit with our time, he being this year on the two and twentieth of *December* by Pope *Paul* the Fourth chosen into the Colledge of Cardinals. He was near of blood to the King, who first bestowed Learning on him, and afterward finding his modesty and excellent disposition, conferred on him the Deanty of *Exceter*. But travelling afterwards to forein Universities; he was in *Italy* quickly bewitched with the Sorceries

of

of the *Circe of Rome*, insomuch that he became a deadly enemy to his Fosterer, his Prince, his Kinsman. For when he would neither allow of the Divorce from the Lady *Catharine*, nor the abrogating of the Authority of the Pope, and openly condemned other the King's proceedings in Ecclesiastical affairs, refusing also to obey the King, who commanded him home; *Henry* disposed of his Deanry, and withdrew the large stipend which he had yearly allowed him. The Pope therefore intending to make use of this man as an Engin of battery against the King (and being induced by the commendations of Cardinal *Contaren*) bestowed on him a Cardinal's *Hat*, and was thereby assured of him, who had of late been suspected to have been seasoned with the Leaven of purer Doctrine. But of that hereafter.

1536.

A N N O D O M. 1537. R E G. 29.

THe accidents of this year were Tragical, and *England* the Scene of blood and deaths of many famous Personages. On the third of *February* was *Thomas Fitz-Girald* beheaded for Treason, his five Uncles hanged, drawn, and quartered, and their members fixed over the Gates of *London*. The same month, *Nicholas Musgrave* and *Thomas Gilby*, for that stirring a new Rebellion, they had besieged *Carlile*, were executed.

1537.

Rebels executed.

The tenth of *March* was *John Paslew* Batchelor of Divinity and Abbot of *Whalley*, put to death at *Lancaster*, and with him one *Eastgate* a Monk of the same place; and three days after them another Monk called *Haydock* was hanged at *Whalley*. The Abbots of *Sauley* and *Woburn* with two Monks make the like end at *Woburn*. And a little after, one Doctor *Macarell*, another Abbot, the Vicar of *Louth*, two other Priests, and seven Lay-men. All these, for as much as I can any way collect, were condemned for having been especial furtherers of the late Rebellions. But the Chieftains and nobler sort were reserved until *June*, at what time the Lords *Darcy* and *Hussey* were beheaded, the one at *Lincoln*, the other at *London*; Sir *Robert Constable*, Sir *Thomas Percy*, Sir *Francis Bigot*, Sir *Stephen Hamilton*, and Sir *John Bulmer* were likewise put to death: *Margaret* Lady to Sir *John Bulmer* was burned at *London*: *William Thurst* Abbot of *Fountains*, *Adam Sudbury* Abbot of *Gervaux*, the Abbot of *Rivers*, *Wold* Prior of *Birlington*, *George Lumley*, *Nicholas Tempest* Esquires, and *Robert Aske*, with many others, as having been partakers in the late Insurrection, did likewise partake in punishment for the same. And for a Commotion in *Somersetshire* in *April* were threescore condemned, whereof only fourteen suffered.

But lest any one may wonder at these severe and unheard of courses taken against the Clergy, I think it not amiss to relate
what

1537.

Cardinal Pool
writes against
the King.

what *Sleidan* writes of Cardinal *Pool*, who set forth one or two Books, which as yet lurking at *Rome*, about this time were spread abroad in *Germany*, and came at length to the King's hands. Wherein directing his stile to the King, he sharply reprehendeth him for taking upon him the title of Head of the Church, which only belonged to the Pope, who is Christ's Vicar on earth, &c. Then he proceeds to the matter of his Divorce, alledging, That he neither out of terror of conscience, nor fear of God, (as he pretended) but out of lust and blind love had forsaken the Lady *Catharine* his wife, whom his Brother Prince *Arthur* a weak young man, and but fourteen years old, had left a Virgin: That it was not lawful for him to marry *Ann Bolen*, whose Sister he had before used as his Concubine: And that he himself had confessed to the Emperour and others, That he found the Lady *Catharine* a Maid. He also eagerly reproveth him for seeking the Opinions of the Universities concerning his former Marriage, and triumphing in his own wickedness, when some of them had pronounced it Incestuous; and that he might be ashamed to prefer the Daughter of a whore, before one that was legitimate, and a most Virtuous Princess. Then speaking of the death of the Bishop of *Rocheſter* and Sir *Thomas More*, he detests his cruelty. He then rips up what tyranny he had exercised over his Subjects of all degrees, in what miseries he had plunged this flourishing Realm, what dangers he incurred from the Emperour, in regard of the injury offered to his Aunt, and the overthrow of Religion; and that he could not expect any aid either from his own or foreign Nations, who had deserved so ill of the Christian Commonwealth. After this, he whets on the Emperour to revenge the dishonour of his Family; affirming that *Turcism* (meaning the Protestant Religion) had found entertainment in England and Germany. And after many bitter reproofs, he invites *Henry* to repentance, perswading him, That for these evils there was no other remedy, but to return to the bosom of the Church, in the defence whereof (a most glorious example) he had made use not only of his Sword, but his Pen also.

Neither did the Cardinal only by Book, but by other personal endeavours manifest his spleen against the King, being sent Ambassador from the Pope to the French, under colour of reconciling him with the Emperour, but his chief errand was, to combine them both against *Henry*. Whereof he having intelligence, did by his Agent earnestly solicit *Francis*, That in regard of their mutual amity, he would cause *Pool* to be apprehended, as guilty of high Treason, and sent to him, where he should undergo the punishment due therefore. But because Religion and the Law of Nations had been violated in betraying any (especially the Pope's) Ambassador, the French could not yield to the King's request: But to shew that he would administer no cause of offence, he refused to admit of his Embassy, and commanded him speedily to depart out of his Dominions.

Hercules stature might be guessed at by the proportion of his foot;

and by this one man's endeavours, Henry was taught what, if need were, he was to expect of his Clergy. So that he was easily induced as any of them offended, to send him to his grave, for that a dead Lion biteth not: And this course being taken with his professed enemies, the fear of the like punishment would secure him of the rest.

On the twelfth of *October*, the Queen having long suffered the throws of a most difficult travel, and such a one, wherein either the Mother or the Infant must necessarily perish, out of her womb was ripped Prince *Edward*; who after succeeded his Father in the Crown. The Queen only surviving two days, died on the fourteenth of *October*, and on the twelfth of *November* was with great pomp buried at *Windsor* in the middle of the Quire, on whose Tomb is inscribed this Epitaph:

*Phœnix Jانا jacet nato Phœnice; dolendum,
Sæcula Phœnices nulla tulisse duas.*

Here a Phenix lieth, whose death
To another Phenix gave breath:
It is to be lamented much,
The World at once ne'r knew two such.

On the eighteenth of *October* the Infant was created Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwal*, and Earl of *Chester*: and with him his Uncle *Edward Seymour* Brother to the deceased Queen, Lord *Beauchamp*, and Earl of *Hertford*; which Honours only (and not those afterwards conferred on him) he left to his posterity. *William Fitz-Williams* Lord Admiral; was made Earl of *Southampton*. Then also *William Powlet* and *John Russel* began their races in the lists of Honour; *Powlet* being made Treasurer, and *Russel* Comptroller of the King's Household, and both sworn of the Privy Council. Neither was here their *non ultra*, the one being afterward raised to Lord Treasurer of *England* and Marquess of *Winchester*, the other to Earl of *Bedford*, wherein he dying in the year 1554, his Son *Francis* that pious old man, and liberal reliever of the Poor, succeeded him, who at the very instant of his death lost his Son *Francis* slain by a *Scot*, Anno 1587. Which *Francis* was Father to *Edward* Earl of *Bedford*; and Brother to *William* by King *James* created Lord *Russel*. *Powlet* living to be a very decrepit old man; had to his Successor his Nephew by his Son *William*, named also *William* the sole Marquess of *England*.

And to end this year with death, as it began, *Thomas Howard* youngest Son to the Duke of *Norfolk*, having been fifteen months imprisoned for affiancing himself without the King's consent to *Margaret* Daughter to *Archibald Douglas* Earl of *Angus* and Lady *Margaret* the King's Sister, on the first day of *November*; to the unspeakable good of this Island, deceased in the Tower.

1537.

The birth of
Prince Ed-
ward.

Seymour Earl
of Hertford.

Fitz-William
Earl of
Southampton.
Powlet and
Russel rise.

1537.

For this *Margaret* being after married to *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox*, had by him *Henry* the Father of King *James* of sacred memory, the most happy Unitor of divided *Britain*.

ANNO DOM. 1538. REG. 30.

1538.

The abuse of
Images re-
frained.

Becket's Shrine
demolished.

* Uniones.

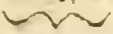
The Image of
our Lady of
Walsingham.

Frier Forest
makes good
a Prophecy.

IT is at length after many Ages resolved, That through the superstitious abuse of Images, God was robbed of his due honour. The King much prone to Reformation (especially if any thing might be gotten by it) thought it fit to remove this stumbling-block, and the rather, for that he conceived his Treasury would be thereby supplied. There were some Images of more especial fame, and Shrines of reputed Saints, whereunto Pilgrimages were made from the farthest parts of the Kingdom, nay even from forein Countries also; the Oblations whereto were so many and so rich, that they not only sufficed for the maintenance of Priests and Monks, but also to the heaping up of incredible wealth. The Shrine of *Thomas Becket* Archbishop of *Canterbury* was covered with plates of Gold, and laden with Gifts of inestimable value. The blind zeal of those and former times, had decked it with Gems, Chains of Gold of great weight, and * Pearls of that large size, which in our Language find no proper term. This Tomb was razed, and his Bones found entire; instead of whose Head the Monks usually obtruded the Scull of some other, peradventure better deserving than did their supposed Martyr. The spoil of this Monument, wherein nothing was meaner than Gold, filled two Chests so full, that each of them required eight strong men for the portage. Among the rest was a Stone of especial lustre called the *Royal* of *France*, offered by *Lewis* the Seventh, King of *France*; in the year 1179, together with a great massy Cup of Gold, at what time he also bestowed an annuity on the Monks of that Church, of an hundred Tons of Wine. This Stone was afterward highly prized by the King, who did continually wear it on his thumb. *Erasmus* speaks much of the magnificence of this Monument; as also of the Image of our Lady of *Walsingham*, both which he had seen and admired. This Image was also stripped of whatsoever worthy thing it had, the like being also done in other the like places, and the Statues and Bones of the dead digged up and burned, that they might be no further cause of Superstition. Among the rest of these condemned Images there was a Crucifix in *South-wales*, called of the Inhabitants, *Darvel Gatheren*; concerning which there was a kind of Prophecy, That it should one day fire a whole Forest. It chanced that at this time one Doctor *Forest* a Frier-Observant, who had formerly taken the Oath of Supremacy, was upon his relapse apprehended and condemned of Treason and Heresie:

Hereſie: For this Frier a new Gallows was erected, whereon he was hanged by the arm-pits, and underneath him a fire made of this Image, wherewith he was burned, and ſo by his death made good the Prophecy.

I. 538.



Great was the Treafure which the King raifed of the ſpoils of Churches and Religious Houſes. But whether the guilt of Sacriledge (adhering like a conſuming Canker) made this ill gotten Treafure unprofitable, or that he found he had need of greater ſupplies to withſtand the dangers that threatned him from abroad, not content with what he had already corraded, he caſts his eyes on the Wealth of the Abbeys that had eſcaped the violence of the former Tempeſt: and not expecting (as he deemed it) a needleſs Act of Parliament, ſeiſeth on the reſt of the Abbeys and Religious Houſes of the Realm. At firſt he begins with that at *Canterbury*, dedicated to *Auguſtine* the *Engliſh* Apoſtle, who was there interred. This being the firſt-fruits of Chriſtianity among this Nation (I mean the *Saxons*, for the *Britans* had been watred with ſtreams derived even from the Fountains Apoſtolick, far more pure than were thoſe later overflows of *Auguſtine*) he invades, expels the Monks, and divides their means between his Exchequer and Courtiers. *Battel-Abbey* built by *William* the Conquerour, in the ſame place where by the overthrow of *Harold* the laſt *Saxon* King he purchaſed this Kingdom to himſelf and his poſterity, did alſo run the ſame fortune. So that it is not ſo much to be wondered at, if thoſe at *Merton* in *Surrey*, *Stratford* in *Effex*, *Lewis* in *Suffex*, the *Charterhouſe*, *Black-Friers*, *Gray-Friers*, and *White-Friers* in *London*, felt the fury of the ſame Whirlwind.

Saint Auguſtine's at Canterbury,

Battel-Abbey,

and others ſuppreſſed.

At the ſame time among many other Reformations in this Church, that wholeſom Injunction was one, whereby the Bible tranſlated and printed in *Engliſh*, was commanded to be kept in every Pariſh Church, and to be conveniently placed where any that were ſo deſirous, might read therein.

The Bible tranſlated.

They who were more eagerly addicted to the ſuperſtition of their Anceſtors, brooked not theſe proceedings, among whom were chief *Henry Courtney* Marqueſs of *Exceter*, *Henry Lord Mountague* Brother to *Cardinal Pool*, and *Sir Edward Nevill* Brother to the Lord *Abergavenny*, who on the fifth day of *November*, upon the accusation of *Sir Geoffry Poole* Brother to the Lord *Mountague*, were committed to the *Tower*, for having maintained intelligence with the Cardinal, and conſpired the King's deſtruction; for which they were on the third of the enſuing *January*, the Lord *Audley* ſitting high Steward for the time, arraigned and condemned, and on the ninth of the ſame month beheaded. Two Priests named *Crofts* and *Colins*, with one *Holland* a Mariner, as partakers in the ſame guilt, were hanged and quartered at *Tyburn*. This *Courtney* was by the Father's ſide of a very noble

The Marqueſs of Exceter and others beheaded

1538.

descent, deriving himself from the Blood Royal of *France*, by *Hugh Courtney* created Earl of *Devonshire* by *Edward the Third*. But by his Mother he far more nearly participated of the Blood Royal of *England*, being Son to *Catharine* Daughter to *Edward the Fourth*, who was Sister to Queen *Elizabeth* the Mother of King *Henry*. The King long favoured him as his Cousin-german, but at length in regard of his near Alliance to the Crown, became jealous of his Greatness, whereof he had lately given more than sufficient testimony, in suddenly arming some thousands to oppose against the *Yorkshire* Rebels. The consideration whereof made *Henry* gladly entertain any occasion to cut off this Noble Gentleman.

Lambert con-
victed, and
burned.

About the same time *John Lambert* a religious and learned man was also condemned, the King himself sitting Judge. This *Lambert* being accused of Heresie, appealed from his Ordinary to the King; who fearing lest he should be accounted a *Lutheran*, resolved upon this occasion to manifest to the World how he stood affected in Religion. To this end summoning as many of the Bishops and other Peers of the Realm as could conveniently be present, he caused Scaffolds to be built in *Westminster Hall*, from whence the people might be spectators and witnesses of the Acts of that day. On the right hand of the King were seated the Bishops, and behind them the Judges and chief Lawyers of the Realm: at his left hand sate the Temporal Lords, and behind them the Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber. *Lambert* being brought to the Bar, *Day Bishop of Chichester*, by the King's appointment made an Oration, wherein he declared the cause of this meeting, saying,

That Lambert having been accused of Heresie before his Ordinary, had made his Appeal unto the King, as if expecting from his Majesty more favour for Heresie, than from the Bishop. So that he now found it to be true, whereof he had been oft informed, That the credulous People were verily perswaded, that his Majesty abhorring the Religion of his Ancestors, had embraced the new Tenets lately broached in Germany. True it was, the tyranny of the Court of Rome had been troublesome to his Predecessors, but to Him intolerable, and therefore had He shaken it off: That Religion might no longer patronize Idleness, He had expelled Monks, who were no other than Drones in the Beehive: He had taken away the idolatrous worship of Images, had permitted to his Subjects the reading and knowledge of God's word, hitherto prohibited by the Church of Rome, lest their wiles and cozenages should be discovered: And had made reformation in some other things peradventure of less moment, which no man could deny, would much redound to the good both of Church and Commonwealth. But as for other things, He had determined there should be no change in the Church during his Reign: which his Resolution He now intended publickly to manifest. His Majesty's desire was, That the Delinquent renouncing his

his Errours, should suffer himself to be received into the bosom of the Church: To which end partly, and partly to shew that He thirsted not after any one's blood, out of his clemency, He had procured the presence of those Grave and Learned men (meaning the Bishops) who by Authority and force of Arguments should if it were possible, bring back this strayed Sheep into the Fold of the Church. But if he perversely oppugned the Truth, and all persuasions notwithstanding, became immoveable, He would by this man's exemplary punishment make known, what others should in the like Case expect, and instruct the Judges and Magistrates what they ought to do therein.

1538.

The Bishop having ended, the King demanded of Lambert, What he thought of the presence of Christ's Body in the Sacrament? Whole answer being little to the King's liking, reasons and arguments were produced, as if a Disputation in the Schools, and not a Justiciary Session had been appointed. Five whole hours this Disputation lasted, the King being as it were Prior Opponent, Archbishop *Cranmer* also, and nine other Bishops forcibly pressing upon poor Lambert. But neither this course, nor the battery of threats and terrours prevailing against his constancy, the King commanded the Lord *Cromwell* to pass sentence of condemnation upon him, by virtue whereof within a day or two after he was burned. Neither this dreadful Sentence, nor his torturing death did any way appale him, which he so little regarded, that going to his death, he merrily took his Breakfast with some Gentlemen into whose company he chanced, as if he had been going to some sportful Game, rather than his Execution.

A N N O D O M. 1539. R E G. 31.

ON the third of March, Sir *Nicholas Carew* Knight of the Garter, and Master of the Horse, was beheaded for being of Counsel with the Marquess of *Exceter*, and the Lord *Mountague*. And on the eight and twentieth of April a Parliament began, wherein *Margaret* Countess of *Salisbury* Mother to Cardinal *Pool*, and Daughter to *George* Duke of *Clarence* who was Brother to *Edward* the Fourth, was attainted of high Treason, and condemned without hearing, and with her the Cardinal her Son, *Gertrude* Widow to the Marquess of *Exceter*, Sir *Adrian Fortescue*, and Sir *Thomas Dingley*. *Dingley* and *Fortescue* were beheaded on the tenth of July, and the Countess being then aged three-score and ten years, suffered two years after.

1539.

Margaret
Countess of
Salisbury con-
demned.

In the same Parliament it was Enacted, That the King might erect new Episcopal Sees in opportune places of the Realm. For the performance whereof, and of some other things no less specious, the late dissolution of those Abbeyes whereon the King seised, was confirmed, and all Religious Houses as yet unsuppressed, were

The subversion
of Religious
Houses.

1539.

Some Abbots
executed.

Glastonbury.

were granted to the King for ever. Upon notice whereof, many either out of guilt of conscience, or desirous to purchase the King's favour, surrendred their charge even before they were required. And first of all the Abbot and Convent of *St. Albans* (the first Abbot of the Realm, as *St. Alban* was the first Martyr: which Honour was conferred on this House by Pope *Adrian* the Fourth, whose Father had long lived a Monastical life therein) forsake their rich Abbey seated near the ruins of *Verolamium*, once a great and antient City, and leave it to the mercy of the Courtiers. Which dereliction afforded matter of example to many other, few enjoying that security of conscience, that they durst lay claim to their own. Only three were found, whose innocence made them so regardless of threats, promises, or reward, that they could never be induced to betray the goods of their Churches to the merciless impiety of sacrilegious Harpies: Which three were *John Bech* Abbot of *Colchester* in *Essex*, *Hugh Faringdon* Abbot of the Abbey of *Reding*, built by *Henry* the First for the place of his Sepulture, and *Richard Whiting* Abbot of *Glastonbury*, one of the stateliest and antientest Monasteries of *Europe*, being first builded by *Joseph* of *Arimathea*, who buried the Body of our Saviour *Christ*, and is himself there interred, as is also (beside some *Saxon* Kings) that most renowned King *Arthur*, whose glorious Acts, had they been undertaken by a fit Historian, would have ranked him among the antient Worthies without the help of a fabulous Romance. Against these men therefore, other courses not availing, that one was taken of administering the Oath of Supremacy, which they refusing, are as enemies to the Estate condemned of high Treason. *Bech* was hanged at *Colchester*, and *Faringdon* with two Priests named *Rug* and *Ognion* at *Reding*. *Whiting*, a man very aged, and by reason thereof doating, scarce perceiving that he had been condemned, returning from the place of Judgment (which was in the Bishop's Palace at *Wells*, distant from *Glastonbury* four miles) with conceit that he was restored to his Abbey, was suddenly rapt up to the top of the *Tor* (a Hill that surveys the Countrey round about) and without leave of bidding his Convent farewell, which he earnestly begged, was presently hanged, the stain of ingratitude sticking fast to the authors of this speedy execution, of whom the poor Abbot is reported to have better deserved. With *Whiting* were two Monks also executed, named *Roger James* and *John Thorn*, their Bodies all drawn and quartered, and set up in divers places of the Countrey. The punishment of these few so terrified the rest, that without more ado they permitted all to the King's disposal. The number of those that were suppressed is not easily cast: But the names of the chiefeft, and whose Abbots had voices among the Peers in the higher House of Parliament, are these:

St. Peter's

St. Peter's in Westminster,
 St. Alban's,
 St. Edmundsbury,
 St. Benet's of Hulme,
 Berdney,
 Shrewsbury,
 Crowland,
 Abingdon,
 Evesham,
 Gloucester,
 Ramsey,
 St. Augustine's in Can-
 terbury,
 Selbey,

Peterborough,
 St. Maries in York,
 Tewksbury,
 Reding,
 Battel,
 Winchcomb,
 Hide by Winchester,
 Cirencester,
 Waltham,
 Walmesbury,
 Thorney,
 St. John's in Colchester,
 Coventrey,
 Tavestock.

1539

A catalogue
 of the Abbots
 who had voices
 among the
 Peers.

New Bishop-
 ricks erected.

The King, that he might some way supply the want of the suffrages of so many learned and wise men in the Parliament House, as also that of so great a prey he might consecrate (if not the tenth to Hercules; at least) some part to God, according to his promise, erected some new Bishopricks; whereof one was at Westminster, a place so near and contiguous to London, that it might rather seem a part of the Suburbs thereof, than a distinct City. But a City it is; and so ennobled with many stately Monuments, that for Beauty it contendeth with most in Christendom: In it are the chief Seat of the Prince, and Palaces of the Nobility; the chief seats of Justice in the Land, the most magnificent Church, wherein are interred most of our Kings and Nobles, whose sumptuous Monuments render it unparallel'd even by the World. Another was at Oxford; in the Colledge founded by Cardinal wolsey. The rest at Peterborough, Bristol, Chester, and Gloucester. Westminster was by Queen Mary again reduced to an Abbey, and furnished with Monks of St. Benet's Order; whom Queen Elizabeth again expelled, and converted the Revenues of the Bishoprick to the maintenance of Scholars, and other pious uses. As for the other Sees, they remain to this day. From those antient Cathedral Churches wherein Monks were seated, nothing was taken away; only Canons were placed there instead of Monks, as likewise in the Cathedral Churches of the new erected Bishopricks. The Churches, wherein antiently Canons and Prebendaries were instituted, are

In ENGLAND,

York, London, Lincoln, Sarisbury, Exceter,	wells, Lichfield, Hereford, Chichester.
--	--

In WALES,

St. David's,
 Landaff,
 Bangor,
 St. Asaph.

1539!

The CATHEDRALS founded with Monks, were

Canterbury,	Norwich,	Durresm,
Winchester,	Worcester,	Carlile.
Ely,	Rochester,	

The new SEES where primarily were Abbeyes, are

Oxford,	Glocester,	Peterborough.
Bristol,	Chester,	

So there are six and twenty Bishopricks within this Realm, and in every Cathedral, Archdeacons, Prebendaries, and other Ministers, as also a Dean who governs the rest, unless it be in *St. David's*, where the Chanter; and *Llandaf*, where the Archdeacon is Head of the Chapter.

These things thus ordered, the King still jealous lest it should be conceived that he had forsaken the Religion of his Fathers, began to thunder out against the maintainers of new Tenets, and much against *Cranmer's* will, by Parliament enacted the Law of the Six Articles, the summe whereof was,

The Law of the Six Articles.

I. That if any one should deny the True and Real presence of the Body of **CHRIST** in the Sacrament, or should maintain, That the substance of Bread and Wine remained after the words of Consecration pronounced by the Priest, he should be burned as an Heretick.

II. If any should deny the Sacrament to be sufficiently administred under one Species only:

III. Or should hold it lawful for Priests to be married, but much more he that having entred into holy Orders, should presume to take a wife:

IV. Or that Chastity vowed upon mature deliberation was not to be kept:

V. Or that private Masses ought not to be celebrated in the Church of England; or elsewhere:

VI. Or that Auricular Confession was not expedient; he should for his errors undergo loss of life by hanging.

These Laws like those of *Draco* written in Blood; were the destruction of multitudes; and silenced those who had been hitherto furtherers of Reformation. Among whom *Hugh Latimer* and *Nicholas Schaxton* Bishops, the one of *Worcester*, the other of *Salisbury*, were remarkable, who that they might quietly enjoy themselves, the Parliament being scarce dissolved, did both on one day, viz. the first of *July*, resign their Bishopricks. *Latimer* (who for the freedom of his conscience could as willingly resign his life, as he did this rich Bishoprick, being burned for it in *Queen Maries* reign) after his Resignation taking off his

Rochet,

Latimer and Schaxton resign their Bishopricks.

Rochet, being a merry conceited man, with a little leap lifted himself from the ground, saying, that *He felt himself much more light and quick, now he had freed himself of so great a burthen.*

Henry (in regard of his wiving disposition) had long continued a Widower. And that he should at length marry, the consideration of his Estate being surrounded with Enemies passionate in the Pope's cause, perswaded him: Wherein he also gave ear to *Cromwell*, who advised him to combine with those Estates, whom the burthen of the Pope's tyranny had forced to the same courses and like fears. By whose assistance he might countermine the secret practices of *Rome*. A counsel without doubt good and befitting the times, but producing the effects of Ill ones, proving (as is thought) Pernicious to the Giver. For the treatise of such a Match, in *September* came into *England* *Frederick* Duke and Elector of *Saxony*, *Frederick* Duke of *Bavaria*, *Otho* Henry Count Palatine of *Rhine*, and the Chancellour of the Duke of *Cleve*, with some others, who were for eight days Royally entertained by the King at *Windsor*, where the Marriage with *Ann* Sister to the Duke of *Cleve* being concluded, they returned to their own Countries.

This year died *Margaret* Queen of *Scotland*, Sister to King *Henry*, who was buried at the *Charterhouse* in the Town of *St. John*, near the Tomb of *James* the First.

1539.

The arrival of certain Princes of Germany in England, for the treatise of a Match between the King and Lady Ann of Cleve.

A N N O D O M. 1540. R E G. 32.

ON the Eve of the *Circumcision*, the Lady *Ann* of *Cleve* destined to the King's Bed, arrived at *Dover*, was on the third of *January* triumphantly received at *Greenwich*, and on the Feast of the *Epiphany* ritely married to the King.

On the twelfth of *March* *Henry* *Bourchier* Earl of *Essex*, the antientest Earl of the Realm, thrown by an unruly young Horse which he sought to break, brake his neck: By whose death the Inheritance was devolved to his Daughter, and from her deceasing without Issue, to the Family of *Deureux*, which Family in regard of their claim by descent, was by Queen *Elizabeth* advanced to the Earldom of *Essex*. But in the mean time *Cromwell* (yet chief in the King's favour) was on the eighteenth of *April* created Earl of *Essex*.

And here behold the frailty of Human affairs. The current of few years had from very mean beginnings brought *Cromwell* to the height of Honour, insomuch that his happiness was admired by all, envied by many: But Fortune intending a Tragedy, he is unexpectedly apprehended sitting at the Council-Table; and committed to the *Tower*, where he continued until his Execution. For in this Parliament begun the twelfth of *April*, he is accused of

1540.

The King marrieth the Lady Ann of Cleve.

Cromwell created Earl of Essex, and within three months after beheaded.

K k

Treason

1540.

Treason and Heresie, without being brought to his answer condemned, and on the twenty eighth of *July* beheaded. This King may well be censured of cruel inconstancy, who could so easily dispense with the death of those whom he had admitted to intimate familiarity, and made use of their counsels and endeavours; as if he had advanced them to no other end, but to depress them. *wolsey* had his turn, *Cromwell* succeeds, whose sudden downfall there want not those who attribute to God's Justice inflicted on him for the Sacrilege (whereof he was reported to be the Author) committed in the subversion of so many Religious Houses. And indeed even they who confess the rousing of so many unprofitable Epicures out of their dens, and the abolishing of Superstition, wherewith the Divine Worship had by them been polluted, to have been an act of singular Justice and Piety; do notwithstanding complain of the loss of so many stately Churches dedicated to God's service, the goods whereof were no otherwise employed, than for the satisfaction of private mens covetousness: and although many have abused the Vail of Religion, yet was that Monastical life instituted according to the pious example of antient Fathers, that they who found themselves unfit for the execution of worldly affairs, (as many such there are) might in such their voluntary retirements spend their days in Divine Writings or Meditations: and are verily perswaded, that for the taking away of these things, God was offended both with the King and *Cromwell*. But *Sleidan* peradventure comes nearer the matter, touching the immediate cause of his death.

Lady Ann of
Cleve repudiated.

About this time (saith he) the King of England beheadeth Thomas Cromwell, whom he had from fortunes answerable to his low parentage, raised to great Honours; repudiates the Lady Ann of Cleve, and marrieth Catharine Howard Daughter to the Lord Edmond Howard, who was Brother to the Duke of Norfolk. Cromwell had been procurer of the Match with Ann. But the King loving Catharine, is thought to have been perswaded by her to make away Cromwell, whom she suspected to be a Remora to her advancement. The actions of Kings are not to be sifted too nearly, for which we are charitably to presume they have reasons, and those inscrutable.

But let us see the process of this Divorce. Six months this conjugal band lasted firm without scruple, the King and Queen giving daily testimonies of their mutual love. On the twentieth of *June* the Queen is willed to remove from *London*, (where the King stayed by reason of the Parliament) to *Richmond*, a place pretended in regard of the situation and air, to be more for her health.

On the sixth of *July* Reasons are proposed by certain Lords purposely sent to the lower House of Parliament, demonstrating the invalidity of the King's Marriage with the Lady *Ann*, so that it was lawful for them both to marry where they pleased. The same

same reasons are alledged in the Convocation-House, and generally approved. Whereupon the Queen also (whether forced or willing) consenting, the Parliament pronounced the Marriage void.

1540.

What the allegations were is uncertain. Some relate disability by reason of some defects to be objected to her, which seems the more probable, for that in her Letters wherein she submitted her self to the judgment and determination of the Parliament, she affirmed that the King never knew her carnally. Whether for this, or for that Nature having not over-liberally endowed her with Beauty; but a private woman she became, and as such (not enduring to return to her friends with dishonour) she lived upon some Lands assigned her by the King, (who always used her respectfully) until the fifteenth of July Anno 1557, at what time she ended her discontented life, and lieth buried at *Westminster* on the South side of the Quire in a Tomb not yet finished.

Scarce had the resolution of the Convocation-House, and the Decree concerning it passed both Houses, when this lusty Widow with as good success as before, married his fifth Wife *Catharine Howard*. When their Nuptials were celebrated is not known, but on the eighth of August in Royal habiliments she shewed her self as Queen.

The King married Catharine Howard.

The fautors of Reformation were much dismayed at the sudden unqueening of *Ann*; fearing (not without cause) lest it proving occasion of enmity between *Henry* and the Princes of *Germany*, he must of necessity rely on them who disliked our divorce from *Rome*. But the King proceeding still in the course he had begun, like a torrent bearing all before him, not only caused three Anabaptists to be burned, but also many sincere Professors of the Truth, for not subscribing to the Six Articles. Among whom three Divines were most eminent, viz. *Robert Barnes* Doctor of Divinity, *Thomas Gerard*, and *William Jerome* Bachelors, who by Parliament (unheard) being condemned for Heresie, were on the one and thirtieth committed to the torments of the merciless fire. At the same time and place three other Doctors of Divinity, viz. *Powel*, *Able*, and *Fetherston* were hanged for denying the King's Supremacy, the sight whereof made a French-man cry out in these words, *Deus bone, quomodo hic vivunt gentes? suspenduntur Papistæ, comburuntur Antipapistæ*; "Good God, how do the people make a shift to live here; where both Papists are hanged, and Antipapists burned? In August the Prior of *Dancaster* and six other for defending the Institution of the life Monastical (a crime now become as capital as the greatest) being also condemned by Act of Parliament, were hanged.

Protestants and Papists alike persecuted.

The Prior of Dancaster and six others hanged.

The same day with the Lord *Cromwell*, the Lord *Hungerford* was also Beheaded. As their causes were divers, so died they

The Lord Hungerford executed.

1540.

alike differently. *Cromwell's* conscience quietly welcomed death; to the other suffering for that most unnatural crime of Sodomy, death presented it self with that horror, that the apprehension of it made him as impatient, as if he had been seized with a frenzy.

ANNO DOM. 1541. REG. 33.

1541.

Beginnings of
a commotion
in Yorkshire.

THE late *Yorkshire* Rebellion was not so thoroughly quenched, but it again began to shew it self; but by the punishment of the chief Incendiaries it was quickly suppressed. Fourteen of the Conspirators were put to death; *Leigh* a Gentleman, *Thornton* a Yeoman, and *Tattershall* a Clothier, at *London*; Sir *John Nevil* and ten others at *York*. Which Commotion whether raised in favour of Religion, or being suspected that it had any abettors beyond the Seas, is thought to have hastened the death of the long since condemned Countess of *Sarisbury*, who on the seven and twentieth of *May* was Beheaded in the *Tower*.

Lord Leonard
Grey be-
headed.

The eight and twentieth of *June* the Lord *Leonard Grey* Deputy of *Ireland*, did on the *Tower Hill* publickly undergo the like punishment. He was Son to the Marquis of *Dorset*, near allied to the King, and a brave Martial man, having often done his Country good service. But for that he had suffered his Nephew *Gerard Fitz-Gerard* (Brother to *Thomas* lately executed) proclaimed enemy to the Estate, to make an escape, and in revenge of some conceived private injury had invaded the Lands of the King's friends, he was arraigned and condemned, ending his life with a resolution befitting a brave Souldier.

The Lord Da-
cres hanged.

The same day *Thomas Fines* Lord *Dacres* of the South, with some other Gentlemen, for the death of one *Busbrig* slain by them in a fray, was hanged at *Tyburn*. Many in regard of his youth and Noble Disposition, much lamented his loss, and the King's inexorable rigour.

ANNO DOM. 1542. REG. 34.

1542.

Queen Catha-
rine beheaded.

BY this time *Henry* began to find the conveniency of his change; having married one as fruitful in evil, as his former Wives were in good; who could not contain her self within the sacred limits of a Royal marriage bed, but must be supplied with more vigorous and active bodies, than was that of the now growing aged and unwieldy King. Alas, what is this momentary pleasure, that for it we dare hazard a treble life, of Fame, of Body, of Soul? Heaven may be merciful, but Fame will censure, and the enraged Lion is implacable: such did this Queen find him, who procured not only her to be condemned by Act of Parliament begun

1542.

begun the sixteenth of *January*, and with her the Lady *Jane* Wife to the Viscount *Rochfort*, (behold the thrift of the Divine Justice, which made her an Instrument of the punishment of her own and others wickedness, who by her calumnies had betrayed her own Husband and his Sister the late beheaded Queen *Ann*) but two others also long since executed, *Francis Derham* and *Thomas Culpepper*, in their double condemnation scarce sufficiently punished. *Derham* had been too familiar with her in her virgin time, and having after attained to some publick Offices in *Ireland*, was by her now Queen sent for and entertained as a household Servant, in which time whether he revived his former familiarity is not manifest. But *Culpepper* was so plainly convict of many secret meetings with the Queen by the means of the Lady *Rochfort*, that the Adultery was questionless. For which the Queen and the Viscountess *Rochfort* were both beheaded within the *Tower* on the twelfth of *February*. *Derham* had been hanged, and *Culpepper* beheaded at *Tyburn* the tenth of the preceding *December*.

Hitherto our Kings had stiled themselves Lords of *Ireland*, a Title with that rebellious Nation not deemed so sacred and dreadful, as to force obedience: The Estates therefore of *Ireland* assembled in Parliament Enacted him King of *Ireland*; according to which Decree he was on the three and twentieth of *January* publicly Proclaimed.

Ireland made a Kingdom.

About the same time *Arthur* Viscount *Lisle* natural Son of *Edward* the Fourth, out of a surfeit of sudden Joy deceased. Two of his Servants had been executed the preceding year for having conspired to betray *Calais* to the *French*, and the Viscount as being conscious committed to the *Tower*. But upon manifestation of his innocence, the King sent unto him Sir *Thomas Wriothesley* Principal Secretary of Estate, by whom he signified the great content he received in the Viscount's approved fidelity, the effects whereof he should find in his present liberty, and that degree of favour that a faithful and beloved Uncle deserved. The Viscount receiving such unexpected news imbellished with rich promises and Royal tokens (the King having sent him a Diamond of great value) of assured favour; being not sufficiently capable of so great joy, free from all symptoms of any other disease, the ensuing night expired. After whose decease Sir *John Dudley* was created Viscount *Lisle*, claiming that Honour as hereditary in the right of his Mother the Lady *Elizabeth*, Sister and Heir to the Lord *Edward Grey* Viscount *Lisle*, Wife to the late deceased Lord *Arthur*, but formerly married to *Edmund Dudley* one of the Barons of the Exchequer, beheaded the first year of this King's reign. Which I the rather remember, for that this man afterwards memorable for his power and dignities, might have proved more happy in his Issue, than his greatness, had not his own ambition betrayed

The Viscount Lisle deceased of a surfeit of Joy.

Sir John Dudley made Viscount Lisle.

some

1542.

War with
Scotland.

some of these fair sprouts to the blast of unseasonable hopes, and nature denying any (at least lawful) Issue to the rest, the name and almost remembrance of this great Family hath ceased. Of which hereafter.

Scotland had been long peaceable, yet had it often administered motives of discontent and jealousy. *James* the Fifth, King of *Scots*, Nephew to *Henry* by his Sister, having long lived a Bachelor, *Henry* treated with him concerning a Marriage with his (then only) Child the Lady *Mary*, a Match which probably would have united these neighbour Kingdoms. But God had reserved this Union for a more happy time.

The antient League between *France* and *Scotland* had always made the *Scots* affected to the *French*, and *James* prefer the alliance with *France*, before that of *England*, where the Dowry was no less than the hopes of a Kingdom. So he marieth with *Magdalen* a Daughter of *France*; who not long surviving, he again matcheth there with *Mary* of *Guise*, Widow to the Duke of *Longueville*. *Henry* had yet a desire to see his Nephew; to which end he desired an interview at *York* or some other oportune place. *James* would not condescend to this, who could notwithstanding undertake a long and dangerous voyage into *France*, without invitation. These were the first seeds of discord, which after bladed to the *Scots* destruction. There having been for two years neither certain Peace, nor a just War, yet incursions from each side, Forces are assigned to the Duke of *Norfolk* to repress the insolency of the *Scots*, and secure the Marches. The *Scot* upon news of our being in Arms, sends to expostulate with the Duke of *Norfolk*, concerning the motives of this War, and withal dispatcheth the Lord *Gordon* with some small Forces to defend the Frontiers. The Herald is detained until our Army came to *Berwick*, that he might not give intelligence of our strength: And in *October* the Duke entring *Scotland*, continued there ransacking the Countrey without any opposition of the Enemy until the middle of *November*. By which time King *James* having levied a great Army; resolved on a Battel, the Nobility perswading the contrary, especially unwilling that he should any way hazard his Person, the loss of his Father in the like manner being yet fresh in memory, and *Scotland* too sensible of the calamities that ensued it. The King proving obstinate, they detain him by force; desirous rather to hazard his displeasure, than his life. This tenderness of him, in the language of rage and indignation he terms cowardise and treachery, threatening to set on the Enemy assisted with his Family only.

The Lord *Maxwell* seeking to allay him, promised with ten thousand only to invade *England*, and with far less than the *English* Forces to divert the War. The King seems to consent: But offended with the rest of the Nobility, he gives the Lord *Oliver Saint-*

Saintclare a private Commission not to be opened until they were ready to give the onset, wherein he makes him General of the Army. Having in *England* discovered five hundred *English* Horse led by *Sir Thomas Wharton* and *Sir William Musgrave*, the Lord *Saintclare* commanded his Commission publickly to be read, the recital whereof so distasted the Lord *Maxwell* and the whole Army, that all things were in a confusion, and they ready to disband.

1542.



The Scots over-
thrown.

The death of
James the
Fifth, King
of Scotland.

Hopes of a
Match between
Prince Ed-
ward and the
Queen of
Scots.

The opportunity of an adjoining Hill gave us a full prospect into their Army, and invited us to make use of our advantages: We charge them furiously, the *Scots* amazedly fly, many are slain, many taken, more plunged in the neighbouring Fens, and taken by *Scottish* Freebooters sold to us. Among the Captives were the Earls of *Glencarn* and *Cassels*, the Lords *Saintclare*, *Maxwell* Admiral of *Scotland*, *Fleming*, *Somervell*, *Oliphant*, and *Gray*, besides two hundred of the better sort, and eight hundred common Soldiers. The consideration of this overthrow occasioned (as he conceived) by the forward rashness of his own Subjects; and the death of an *English* Herald slain in *Scotland*, so furcharged him with rage and grief, that he fell sick of a Fever, and died in the three and thirtieth year of his age, and two and thirtieth of his reign, leaving his Kingdom to the usually unhappy government of a Woman, a Child scarce eight days old. The chief of the Captives being conveyed to the *Tower* were two days after brought before the King's Council, where the Lord Chancellor reprehended their treachery, who without due denuntiation of War, invaded and spoiled the Territories of their Allies, and committed many outrages, which might excuse any severe courses, which might in justice be taken with them: Yet his Majesty out of his natural Clemency was pleased to deal with them beyond their deserts, by freeing them from the irksomeness of a strict imprisonment, and disposing of them among the Nobles, to be by them entertained, until he should otherwise determine of them.

By this time King *James* his death had possessed *Henry* with new hopes of uniting *Britain* under one Head. *England* had a Prince, and *Scotland* a Queen, but both so young that many accidents might dissolve a contract before they came to sufficiency. Yet this seeming a course intended by the Divine Providence to extirpate all causes of enmity and discord between these neighbouring Nations, a Marriage between these young Princes is proposed. With what alacrity and applause the proposition was on both sides entertained, we may conceive, who have had the happiness to see that effected, which they but intended. Which being a matter of so sweet a consequence, it is to be wondered at, that the conspiracy of a few factious spirits should so easily hinder it. The hope of it prevailed with the King for the liberty of the Captives, conditionally, that they should leave Hostages for their return, if Peace were not shortly concluded; which,

as

1542.

as also the furtherance of this so wished conjunction, they faithfully promised.

ANNO DOM. 1543. REG. 35.

1543.

The Scottish
Captives set
liberty.
The Earl of
Angus return-
eth into Scot-
land.

AFTER their short Captivity, the *Scottish* Lords (having been detained only twelve days at *London*) on *New-years-day* began their journey towards *Scotland*, and with them *Archibald Douglas* Earl of *Angus*, whom his Son-in-Law King *James* had a little before his death intended to recall. Fifteen years had he and his Brother *George* lived Exiles in *England*, *Henry* out of his Royal Bounty allowing to the Earl a Pension of a thousand Marks, and to his Brother of five hundred. The sudden return of these captive Lords caused in most as sudden a joy. Only the Cardinal of *St. Andrews* (who had by forgery made himself Regent) and his Faction could willingly have brooked their absence. They came not as freed from a Captivity, but as Ambassadors for Peace by them earnestly perswaded, which by the happy conjunction of these Princes might be concluded to perpetuity. But the Cardinal with his factious Clergy, the Queen Dowager, and as many as were affected to the *Flower-de-lys* interposed themselves for the good of *France*. Yet notwithstanding the Cardinal's fraud being detected, he is not only deposed from his Regency, and *James Hamilton* Earl of *Arren* substituted, but also committed to custody, whence afterwards making an escape he was the author of more garboils. In the mean time the Marriage of the young Queen and other conditions proposed to the Estate of *Scotland* by Sir *Ralph Sadler* the King's Ambassador, are fully assented unto, and Hostages promised for the performance of them. But the adverse Faction became so prevalent, that the Hostages were not delivered at the day, neither did the Captive Nobility render themselves in *England*. Only *Gilbert Kennedy* Earl of *Cassels*, like another *Regulus*, had rather commit himself to the mercy of his enemies, than prostitute his Honour to the foul taint of base infidelity. His Brethren had become Pledges for his return: the importunity, nay violence of his friends could not deter him from redeeming them. So to *London* he came, where the bountiful King duly honouring him for his constancy, instead of receiving a Ransom gave him one, dismissing him and his Brothers fraught with honour and rewards. The Scots falling off from their late Agreement, the King commandeth stay to be made of all their Ships, and confiscate their goods; sends Letters full of threats and just complaints to the Estates at *Edenborough*, Blaming them for arrogantly rejecting his Alliance, the want whereof must needs be prejudicial to them; neither had they only rejected it, but unmindful of former benefits had sown seeds of new war, and forced him to Arms.

But

The League
and Match
concluded.

The Scottish
Shipping de-
cimated.

But Letters proving ineffectual, *Scotland* is by the frontier Gar-
risons invaded in three several places, forty *Scots* making resistance
are slain, five and fifty Villages burned, five hundred and sixty
prisoners taken, and a booty brought into *England*, of three thou-
sand five hundred head of cattel, eight hundred Horses, and seven
thousand Sheep, beside great provision of householdstuff.

1543.

War with
Scotland.

But this obstinacy of the *Scots* proceeded not only from them-
selves. *France* and *Scotland* were ever combined against *England*,
so that to invade one, was to draw on a War with both. We
had been often victorious in *France*, whereof many portions an-
ciently belonged to Us: if we should make any claim to all or
part of our Inheritance, *Scotland* would serve either to distract
our Forces, or to transfer the seat of War nearer home. The
uniting of *England* and *Scotland* would by securing us at home fa-
cilitate our Enterprizes upon *France*. These were motives suffi-
cient for *Francis*, notwithstanding the long inviolate amity be-
tween him and *Henry*, secretly to cross our designs in *Scotland*.
Whereof *Henry* could not long be sensible, and not revenge.
Wherefore he proclaims open hostility with *France*, as he had al-
ready with *Scotland*, and reconciles himself with the Emperour
(before thought irreconcilable in regard of his Aunts disgrace)
who professed, that all causes of difference between them were
buried with her: yet is it certain that unto the Pope he accused
Henry to have dispatched her by poison. But now they are be-
come Confederates, and an aid of ten thousand *English* sent to
joyn with the Imperials. *Landrecy* (a Town lately taken from
the Emperour by the *French*) is the first exercise of our Arms.
The Emperour also coming in Person, it is invested with forty
thousand men, is furiously battered, and the Souldiers brought
to the distress of half a provant loaf of Bread a day, and to
drink Water. *Francis* being certified of their wants assembles his
Forces, draws near the Emperour feeding him with hope of a
Battel, entertaining him with skirmishes relieves the besieged,
and without any more ado under the covert of the night retreats.

War with
France.

A League with
Emperour.

Landrecy be-
sieged, but in
vain.

Let us now conclude the year at home. And to begin with the
Church; In *February* the people by Proclamation is licensed to
eat White Meats in *Lent*, but under a great penalty enjoined to
abstain from Flesh.

The people li-
censed to eat
White Meats
in Lent.

The third of *June*, *Morogh O'Brien* a Nobleman of *Ireland*, de-
scended from the Kings of *Limrick* submitted himself to the King,
and was shortly after made Earl of *Twomond*, which Honour his
posterity at this day enjoyeth, having given ample proof of their
Loyalty to succeeding Princes.

The twelfth of *July* the King married his sixth Wife the Lady
Catharin Parr, Widow to the Lord *Latimer*, and Sister of *William*
Parr lately created Earl of *Essex* in the right of his Wife sole
Daughter and heir to the late Earl *Henry Bourchier*. At what
time

The King's
sixth Marri-
age.
William Parr
Earl of *Essex*.

1543.

Another of the
same name
made Lord
Parr.

time another of the same name, Uncle to the Queen and the Earl, was created Lord *Parr*, and Chamberlain to the Queen.

The eight and twentieth of *July* for the Profession of their Faith were *Anthony Parsons*, *Robert Testwood*, and *Henry Filmer* Burned at *London*; *Marbeck* was also condemned, but afterward pardoned.

ANNO DOM. 1544. REG. 36.

1544.

The Lord Chan-
cellour dieth.

An Expedition
into Scotland.

THE Lord *Thomas Audley* Chancellour of *England* deceasing the last of *April*, the Lord *Wriothesley* chief Secretary of Estate is designed his Successour. And the Earl of *Hertford* made Lieutenant of the North, is sent thither with an Army to repress the incursions of the *Scots*.

The Viscount *Lisle* Admiral of *England*, with a Navy of two hundred Sail entred the *Forth* of *Scotland*, landed ten thousand men, forced the rich Town of *Leith*, and then marched toward *Edenburg* the Metropolis of the Kingdom. The Regent was there with the Cardinal (at whose dispose he now wholly was) and many other Nobles, guarded with six thousand Horse and a great number of Foot, who upon sight of an invading Army betook themselves to flight, and left the City void of defendants. The Provost craving parley, offered to yield the City upon condition of departure with Bag and Baggage, and saving the Town from Fire. But the breach of League, and insolencies of the Inhabitants of *Leith* and *Edenburg* had inspired us with Revenge, so that no Conditions were to be admitted, but what the Victor should impose. This drives the Provost to a desperate resolution of defence. The *English* give a furious Assault, enter at the *Canigate*, put the Inhabitants to the sword, pillage and fire it. The like calamity felt the Countrey round about, fire and sword cruelly feeding upon Villages, Castles, and Noblemens Houses. *Leith* had hitherto been reprieved from the like misery; but at our return to the Navy, it is made its own Funeral pile, and the Peer of the Haven utterly consumed.

New employments call home our Admiral. *Henry* resolves once more to transport his Arms into *France*, there to join with the Earls of *Reux* and *Bures*, Imperial Commanders. It was agreed between the Emperour and the King, that the one should invade *Champaigne*, the other *Picardy*, and having united their Forces (which should amount to fourscore thousand Foot, and eighteen thousand Horse) to march directly to *Paris*, thereby either to force the *French* to fight with disadvantage, or to suffer the ruin of his Countrey. *Henry* lands at *Calais*, and finds *Picardy* unfurnished of men, *Francis* having withdrawn his Forces towards *Champaigne* to oppose them against the Emperour. He therefore

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therefore sends the Duke of *Norfolk* with the Earls of *Reux* and *Bures* to besiege *Montrueil*. The Marshal of *Biez* seeing which way we turned the point of our Army, being commanded by his King to have an especial care of that Territory, puts himself into *Montrueil*, and left the Lord of *Vervein* his Son-in-Law, a man of small experience, to command in *Bouloign*. This opportunity invites *Henry* to encamp before *Boloign* a Town near to *Ca-lais*, and many ways commodious. He causeth the Duke of *Norfolk* (now in danger to be surpris'd by the *French* Army) to arise from before *Montrueil*; and omitting his intended Voyage to *Paris* (frustrated by the Emperour's Peace with the *French*; to enter into which *Henry* was invited by the Cardinal *Bellay*, *Raymond* President of *Rouen*, and *Anbespine* Secretary of Estate, sent of purpose) he investeth *Boloign*. The Duke of *Suffolk* had first encamped upon a Hill on the East of *Boloign*, from whence he after made his approaches into the Valley: and the King encamping on the North, shut up the Town on all sides. The first assault is given on the Suburbs or Base Town, which the *French* under the covert of a made smoak had forsaken. They pretend it to have been purposely fired as unprofitable, and the fire quenched by our industry. Next the Tower of the *Ordre* (called by us the *Old-man*) defended by twenty Souldiers is yielded, and the Town continually battered in four places, whereof the most forcible was the Battery from the Hill on the East side, which beat down the Steeple of our Ladies Church, rent the houses, and scoured the streets of the Town. The breach made by the Cannon being not sufficient, they fall to mining, which happily succeeding, they blow up a great part of the Wall. We give a furious assault, and are repulld with loss, yet did this assault carry the Town; that brave Captain *Philip Corse* being slain in it, whose valour alone had hitherto preserved it. *Vervein* upon the loss of this man, at his wits end, sounds the intention of the King, and yields him the Town upon composition; That the Souldiers and Citizens might depart with their Baggage; and that all the Artillery, Munition, and Victuals (whereof there was great store) should remain to the King. The Inhabitants refuse this bad composition, and the Mayor with the Townsmen offer to keep the Town: Which had they accordingly undertaken, *Boloign* in all probability had continued *French*. For the Capitulation was no sooner concluded (Hostages not yet given) but a horrible Tempest of Wind and Rain overthrows our Tents, and the soil being fat and slippery, we should not have had any means to mount to an assault. Moreover the Daulphin was on march with great Forces for their succour, whose approach would have forced *Henry* to have changed his design. But *Vervein* professing that he would keep touch even with his Enemy, continued constant in his promise, for which he soon lost his Head on a Scaffold at *Paris*. The four and twentieth

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of *September*, the City was delivered to the Duke of *Suffolk*, and the *French* departed to the number of threeſcore and ſeven Horſe, a thouſand five hundred threeſcore and three able Foot, and a thouſand nine hundred twenty and ſeven Women and Children, many of the infirmer ſort not able to depart, ſtaying behind. The next day the King entred triumphantly, and cauſed our Ladies Church to be demolished, and in place thereof a Fortification to be raiſed, and having ordered his affairs to his mind, making the Viſcount *Liſle* Governour, ſet ſail for *Dover*, where he arrived on the firſt of *October*.

But the King's haſty departure permitted not all things to be ſufficiently ſetled. Part of the Artillery, Viſtuals and Munition by the Capitulation left in *Boloign*, were not removed from the Baſe Town, which was fortified only with ſome ſmall Trenches, for the ſurpriſal whereof, the Dauphin in the night ſends ſome Troops, who before morning enter the place, cut all in pieces they meet, win the Artillery and Munition, and think to have gotten an abſolute Victory: but being intent to pillage, ſome Enſigns iſſue from the higher Tower, find them in diſorder, ſet upon them and rout them. Many of the Enemies were ſlain, among whom was *Fouqueſſolles*, another Son-in-Law of *Biez*, the Victory not being without blood on our ſide.

Neither was our Fleet idle in the mean, which ſcouring the Seas brought three hundred Prizes ſo fraught with Merchandiſe, that the three ſpacious Churches of the *Auguſtine*, the *Gray*, and the *Black Friars* in *London*, whoſe Monaſteries had lately been ſuppreſſed, were ſtored with nothing but Hogſheads of Wine.

The Earl of *Lenox* lately diſpatched out of *France* for the managing of the affairs of *Scotland*, to the behoof of the *French* found not entertainment there according to his expectation. The Queen Mother and Cardinal, as long as they had need of him, deluded him with hopes of marrying the Queen Mother, and by their ſecret calumnies rendred them ſuſpected to the *French*. At length finding his ſafety questionable, he flies for refuge into *England*, accompanied with *Alexander* Son and Heir to the Earl of *Glen-carn*, *Walter Graham* Brother to the Earl of *Montroſs*, and Sir *John Borthwick* with others, and were honourably received by *Henry*, who moſt happily repaired the Earl's loſſes of Revenues in *France* fallen by the death of *Robert Stuart* of *Aubigny*, and of his Marriage in *Scotland*, with that moſt ſucceſſful Match that beautiful Lady *Margaret*, Niece to the King and Daughter to the Earl of *Angus*, and an annual Penſion of ſeven hundred Marks. And once more he reſolved to try his fortune in *Scotland* attended by Sir *Rice Manſell*, and Sir *Peter Mewtas*, *Wintor*, *Audley*, and *Brooks* with others, who with eight Ships ſet ſail from *Briſtol*, and hanging over the Coaſt of *Scotland* like a Cloud uncertain where

to disburthen it self, deterred the *Scots* from enterprising any thing upon *England* in the absence of the King.

The Church of late had daily felt some change or other: And this year in *June* the *Letany* set forth in *English* was commanded to be used in all Churches.

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ANNO DOM. 1545. REG. 37.

Our late Expeditions had without doubt been very chargeable. So that I should not wonder that the King began to want supplies, if I did not consider the incredible summs raised of the spoils of the late suppressed Religious Houses. All which notwithstanding, whether it were that God not pleased with this authorized Sacrilege did not enlarge them with his Blessing, *which only* (saith *Solomon*) *maketh Rich*: Or that a great part thereof was otherwise divided either among his Courtiers, or for the maintenance of the ejected Religious Persons, the Treasury was certainly very bare. To which former reasons we may add the six new erected Bishopricks, and the like number of Cathedral Churches, as also the Stipends conferred on both Universities for the publick Professors of the *Hebrew* and *Greek* Tongues, Divinity, Law, and Physick, to each whereof he allotted an Annuity of forty Pounds. Howsoever it were, certain it is, that levies being made in *Germany* for the King, the Souldiers disbanded for want of Pay. The Parliament had already granted him great Subsidies, so that thence he could expect no more. Yet Monies must be had. *Henry* therefore resolves on an honest kind of Rapine. The Intreaties of Princes little differ from Commands, unless perhaps in this, that they work more subtilly, and render them pliable with whom Commands would not have prevailed; which manifestly appeared in the execution of this Project. He had twenty years since commanded Money by Proclamation, a course so far from taking as was desired, that it had like to have been the cause of much mischief: But now by some fit Commissioners informing his Subjects of his necessities, and desiring the richer sort one by one to contribute towards his support, he quickly replenished the Exchequer. The Commissioners begin first with the Citizens of *London*, among whom two were more strait-laced than the rest, viz. *Richard Read*, and *William Roch*; but their parsimony shall cost them dear. For *Read* being an old man and utterly unexpert of Martial Discipline, is commanded to serve in person in the Wars of *Scotland*, is taken by the *Scots*, and forced to ransom himself at a high rate. *Roch*, as having used some uncivil language before those of his Majesty's Council who sate Commissioners, was for some months punished

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punished with straight imprisonment, and at length (not improbably) bought his liberty.

In the mean time *Boloign* was a great eye-sore to the *French*. They try to regain it by stratagems and surprisals, but in vain. They betake themselves to force with the like success. The Marshal of *Biez* Governour of the *Boloignois* comes with a great Army to the *Port*, a Town two miles from *Boloign*, and begins to build a Fort on this side the River upon the point of the Tower of *Ordre*, but is by the Earl of *Hertford* forced away, and leaves his Castle in the Air. His intent was by this Fort to have kept the Garrison of *Boloign* within their Walls, to have commanded the Haven, so to cut off all Succours by sea, and from *Calais* by land. Which being done, *Francis* resolved in Person to besiege *Guifnes*, and there to fortifie; thereby to famish *Boloign*, and to keep *Calais* and the land of *Oye* in subjection. But these designs proving fruitless, he prepares his Naval forces, giving forth, that he intended to invade *England*, hoping that this Alarm would have made us have a care of the main, and neglect those pieces abroad, so that *Boloign* for lack of aid should easily be reduced. The noise of an invasion made *Henry* arm, who having gathered together a sufficient Fleet, awaited the Enemy at *Portsmouth*, intent to all occasions. Neither did the *French* only intend an Alarm, landing in three several places in *England*, but were every where with loss driven aboard their Ships. Two days after they fall down to the Channel that divideth the Isle of *Wight* from the rest of *Britain*; they seem to threaten *Portsmouth*, where the King then was, and seek to draw our Fleet to fight. The *French*, beside a sufficient Fleet of other Ships had twenty five Gallies, no way probably useful in these tempestuous and rough Seas not brooking this flat kind of shipping, but by their bulk and number to terrifie us: Yet at this time an unusual calmness of the Sea without wind or current, put them in hope of effecting wonders by their Gallies. But our Fleet was not to be drawn to fight, much less to be forced without apparent danger to the Enemy, who must slip down a narrow Channel, where but few Ships could go in front, and the like number opposed might easily defend it: Where they could not enter, but with the Tide and Wind, and the first Ships repulsed, in their falling back would have disordered the rest of the Fleet, where of necessity they must fight under the favour of our Forts and Cannon, which would easily have hindered their approach. The Enemy being put off here, consult of fortifying the Isle of *Wight*, where at *St. Helens* Point they land two thousand men, resolve forsooth to make that the Seat of the War, and there to build three Forts; but the valour of the Inhabitants made them change their design, and forced them again to their Ships. Thus every where affronted to their loss, without any memorable act they set sail for *Normandy*.

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The *French* Fleet consisted of a hundred and three Sail of all sorts, ours of only sixty, so that it was no way safe for us to encounter them. Some light proffers were made on both sides, wherein we always came off with the better. As for the *Mary Rose*, a Ship which with her loss buried Sir *George Carow* the Captain, and seven hundred men; the *French* do well to make use of casualties to their own glory: But it was not the valour of the *French*, or fury of their Cannons that sunk her, but the supine negligence of the Mariners, being wrecked in the very Haven, in the presence of the King.

Boloign was not idle the while. Upon hope of a Fort to be built by the Marshal of *Biez*, *Francis* had made great preparations for an Enterprize upon *Guisnes*, but was diverted by the death of the Duke of *Orleans* his younger Son, and the lost hopes of his intended Fort near *Boloigne*, and having for a while encamped at * *Mont-Lambert*, retired at last toward *Amiens*. The nearness of the King's Camp at *Mont-Lambert* did daily invite both Nations to make trial of their valour, the *English* sometimes, sometimes the *French* having the better. One day among the rest the *English* hotly charging the *French*, the Duke of *Aumale* comes to relieve them, who being strook with a Lance under his right Eye, it breaks in pieces and leaves the Trunchion half a foot within his Head. It was a token of an excellent spirit in this young Nobleman, that for so rough a charge he lost not his stirrups; and endured the torture whereto they put him in drawing out the three square head, with such an invincible constancy, as if they had picked a Thorn from out his Finger, and beyond all expectation of the Chirurgions recovered. The Victory remained to the *English*: who could not long brag of it, afterward seeking to cut off a Convoy of the Enemies, defeated by the *Rhinegrave* with the loss of sixteen Captains, and seven or eight hundred men. The Earl of *Surrey*, who led them, saved himself by flight. And were it not discourtesie in us not to requite the late visit of the *French*? The Lord Admiral therefore landed six thousand men at *Treport* in *Normandy*, burned the Town and Abbey with thirty Ships and a Barque in the Haven, and returned with the loss of only fourteen men.

* Alias Bon-lamberg.

Neither were our employments less or fewer in *Scotland*, than among the *French*. *Scotland* had so many enemies at home, that it needed not any abroad. But their home-bred dissentions had caused War from us, and the way to set them at Peace was, to invade them. In the beginning of *March* Sir *Ralph Evers*, by the death of his Father Lord *Evers*, with an Army entred *Scotland*, making all the Countrey desert about *Jedbury* and *Kelson*. Thence marching to *Coldingham* fortified the Church and Tower, and leaving a Garrison there, departed. The Garrison partly out of covetousness, partly to distress the Enemy if he should lay siege to

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to them, pillaged and wasted all the neighbouring Countrey. The Regent according to their expectation besiegeth the Church with eight thousand men, and batters it a whole day and a night. But suddenly, making none of the Nobles partakers of his determinations, whether out of fear to be betrayed by his Army, or some other cause, took horse and posted away to *Dunbar*, which occasioned the disbanding of the Army, and the freedom of the besieged. Our often success having emboldened us, we adventure upon another impression, the fury whereof disburdened it self in *Merch*, *Teisfdale*, and *Landen*, the Inhabitants being either forced to yield, or flie, and leave their goods to be seiled on by *Bellonas* Harbingers. The *Scots* at length make head, and although of more than equal number, they betake themselves to stratagems. They understand by their Scouts of our approach, and to deceive us, by the advice of *Walter Scot* send their Horses to the adjoining Hills. Neither indeed was the place so advantageous for Horse, as for Foot. The Horses backed by the Grooms that kept them, did from the Hills make shew of an Army, and that flying. We advance, as loath to let our enemies escape, in the pursuit of whom we unawares fall among the whole Army not disorderly flying, but prepared to receive us. It is not unusual to encounter men; but if Heaven and the Elements oppose us, how can we hope for victory? We find the number of our adverse Army great beyond our expectation, the Sun far declining to the West darted his rays in our faces, and a violent wind drives the smoak of the shot into our mouthes, which not only made the most necessary sense unuseful, but with a foul stench corrupted the Air, and hindred the breathing of the already panting Souldiers. The many advantages give them the Victory. We leave two hundred in the place, and among them the Lord *Evers*; a thousand are taken, whereof Alderman *Read* was one.

A little after this Victory, *Francis* sent into *Scotland* a supply of five hundred *French* Horse and three thousand Footmen, under the command of the Lord of *Lorges* Earl of *Montgomery*, not so much to cross our attempts against the *Scots*, as to distract our Forces, that the violence of them united might not at once fall on *France*.

This year among other accidents is also memorable through the death of the King's Brother-in-Law *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, a man of a mighty spirit, yet so tempering it with mildness and fair demeanour, that he was generally beloved both of Prince and people: Who in that height of favour carried him so evenly as to die quietly in his Bed. A happiness under this Prince rare even to Fortunes and His Favourites.

A Parliament assembled in *November* granted the King the Disposall of all Colledges, Chuntries, and Hospitals, the demelnes, salaries and stipends thereto belonging, or given to Priests to say Mass for the Souls of the departed. The King personally

personally gave thanks to both Houses, promising to have a care that they should be employed to the honour of God and the publick good. But we find not the effect of his promises.

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ANNO DOM. 1546. REG. 38, & ultimo.

VWE are now come to the last year of *Henry* his Reign; who having tired himself with the *French Wars*, began at length seriously to bethink himself of Peace. Neither was *Francis* less desirous of his Friendship. To this end Deputies from both sides meet often between *Guisnes* and *Ardes*: For *Henry*, the Earl of *Hertford*, *Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, the Viscount *Lisle* Lord Admiral, Sir *William Paget* Secretary of Estate, and Dr. *Wotton* the first Dean of *Canterbury*: For *Francis*, the Admiral *Annebault*, *Raymond* first President of *Rouan*, and *Boucharel* Secretary. After many consultations a Peace was concluded on these Conditions:

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That Francis within eight years should pay fourscore hundred thousand Crowns to the King, as well for the arrearage of his Pension, as for many other expences made by him in war, in the fortification of Boloign and of the Countrey: And upon receipt of the said Summ, Henry should deliver unto the King of France Boloign and all the Countrey belonging to it, with the ancient places or newly edified by him, Mont-Lambert, the Tower of Ordre, Ambleteul and others, with all the Artillery and Munition in them.

For the confirmation whereof, the Viscount *Lisle* was sent Ambassador into *France*, and from thence came the Admiral *Annebault* to receive the Oaths of each King, and the Peace was Proclaimed in *London*.

On the sixteenth of *July* were burnt at *London* for their Religion *John Lassels*, *Nicholas Otterden*, *John Adlam*, and *Ann Askew* a young Gentlewoman aged twenty five, of an ancient Descent, excellent beauty, and acute wit, whose examinations, writings, tortures, and patient suffering are at large set down by Mr. *Fox*, being before their Execution by Dr. *Schaxton* exhorted to Recant, as he then was forced, who some years passed had resigned his Bishoprick to enjoy his Conscience.

And here I may not omit an addition to the septenary number of Sleepers, *William Foxley* a Pot-maker in *London*, who without any touch of any preceding infirmity was seised with such a dead sleep, that for fourteen days and fifteen nights no force nor invention could awake him; on the fifteenth day this miraculous sleep forsaking him, he was as it were restored to life, and found as sound and entire as if he had taken no more than an ordinary repose: Neither would he believe that he had taken other, but that the building of a certain Wall made it apparent to him how

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much time he had slept away. He lived above forty years after, viz. to the year 1587.

Let us conclude this year with the death of *Martin Luther* that famous impugner of the Church of *Rome*, who being sent for by the Counts of *Mansfield* to compose some differences between them concerning their inheritancé, died among them in his Climacterical year, and after much contention for his Body, lieth buried at *Wirttemberg*.

ANNO DOM. 1547.

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HENRY long since grown corpulent was become a burthen to himself, and of late lame by reason of a violent Ulcer in his Leg, the inflammation whereof cast him into a lingering Fever, which by little and little decaying his spirits, he at length began to feel the inevitable necessity of death. The cogitation of many things (as in the like exigents usually happeneth) oppressed him, and chiefly of his Son's nonage, but now entring into his tenth year, an age infirm and opportune to treacheries, against which he found small provision in his Friends, having none amongst those on whose Loyalty he chiefly relied, of so sufficient eminency, as to underprop his weak Estate with those supporters of Royalty, *Power* and *Authority*. His Brother-in-Law the Duke of *Suffolk* was lately deceased: *Seymour* the young Prince's Uncle was a man whose Goodness was not tempered with Severity, and being descended of a Family more ancient than noble (as having until now never transcended Knighthood) would be subject to contempt. They who more nearly participated of the Blood Royal, as they any way excelled in Power or Virtue, were the more suspected and hated by him. The Family of the *Howards* was then most flourishing, the chief whereof was *Thomas Duke of Norfolk*, a man famous for his exploits in *France*, *Scotland*, and elsewhere, long exercised in the School of Experience, many ways deriving himself from the Crown, popular, of great command and revenues. But the edge of the old man's disposition made mild and blunted with age, administred the less cause of suspicion. Of his eldest Son *Henry Earl of Surrey*, the King was certainly jealous, and resolved to cut him off. He had lately in the Wars of *France* manifested himself heir to the glory of his Ancestors, was of a ripe wit, and endued with great Learning, so that the Elogy afterwards given to his Son *Henry*, that *He was the Learned'st among the Nobility, and the Noble'st among the Learned*, might have as fitly been applied to him, was very gracious with the people, expert in the Art Military, and esteemed fit for publick Government. These great Virtues were too great Faults, and for them he must suffer. Treason is objected to him, and

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and upon the surmise he and his Father sent to the *Tower*. On the thirteenth of *January* he is arraigned, the chief point of his accusation whereon they insisted being, for bearing certain Arms, which only belonged to the King, and consequently aspiring to the Crown. Of other things he easily acquitted himself, and as for those Arms, he constantly affirmed that they hereditarily pertained unto him; yet notwithstanding he would not have presumed to have born them, but being warranted by the opinion of the Heralds, who only were to give judgment in these cases. The Judges not approving of his answer condemn him, and so the Flower of the *English* Nobility is on the nineteenth of *January* beheaded, the King lying in extremity, and breathing his last in Blood. The Duke was adjudged to perpetual imprisonment, where he continued until he was by *Queen Mary* set at liberty.

The King, his disease growing on him, at last makes his Will, wherein (by virtue of a Law lately Enacted) he ordains Prince *Edward* his Successour in the first place, and in the second (Prince *Edward* dying Issueless) substitutes the Lady *Mary* begotten of *Catharine* of *Arragon*, and upon the like defect of Issue in *Mary* in the third place substitutes the Lady *Elizabeth*. These three reigned successively, and accomplished the number of fifty six years; at the expiration whereof *Queen Elizabeth* ended her long glorious Reign, and left the Diadem to King *James*, in the many regards of his Learning, Religion, Goodness, peaceable and happy Reign the Mirrour of late Ages. The next care was of his Executors, whom he also appointed (Tutors shall I say or) Counsellors to his Son, and were in number sixteen, *viz.*

Thomas *Archbishop* of *Canterbury*.

Thomas *Wriothesley* *Lord Chancellor*.

William *Paulet* *Lord Saint-John*.

John *Russel* *Lord Privy Seal*.

Edward *Seymour* *Earl of Hertford*.

John *Dudley*, *Viscount Lisle* *Lord Admiral*.

Cuthbert *Tonstall* *Bishop of Duresm*.

Sir Anthony *Brown* *Master of the Horse*.

Sir Edward *Mountague* *Chief Justice of the Common Pleas*.

Sir William *Paget*.

Sir William *Harbert*.

Sir Thomas *Bromley*.

Sir Anthony *Denny*.

Sir Edward *North*.

Sir Edward *Wotton*.

Doctor *Wotton* *Dean of Canterbury and York*.

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To whom he added as Assistants, especially in matters of great consequence:

Henry Earl of Arundel.
 William Earl of Essex.
 Sir Thomas Cheney Steward of the King's Household.
 Sir John Gage Comptroller.
 Sir Anthony Wingfield Vice-Chamberlain.
 Sir William Peter Secretary.
 Sir Richard Rich.
 Sir John Baker.
 Sir Ralph Sadler.
 Sir Thomas Seymour.
 Sir Richard Southwell.
 Sir Edmond Peckham.

He ordained his Body should be interred at *Windsor* in a Monument (yet imperfect) erected by Cardinal *Wolsey*, not for himself (as many falsely surmise) but for the King, as by the Inscription is manifest, which cannot be of later date. For therein *Henry* is stiled Lord of *Ireland* without any mention of Supreme Head of the Church, which two particles it is manifest were changed in the Title after *Wolsey* his death. In the same his last Will he commanded that the Monuments of *Henry* the Sixth, and *Edward* the Fourth (both interred in *Windsor*) should be made more magnificent and stately, and other things of less moment, most of which were neglected. This last Will and Testament he confirmed, subscribed, and sealed the last of *December*, and survived a month after, dying at *Westminster* the eight and twentieth of *January*, and that in this manner: The King having long languished, the Physicians finding apparent symptoms of approaching death, wished some of his friends to admonish him of his estate, which at last Sir *Anthony Denny* undertook, who going directly to the fainting King, told in few (but those plain) words, That the hope of humane help was vain, wherefore he beseeched his Majesty to erect his thoughts to Heaven, and be-thinking him of his fore-passed life, through Christ to implore God's Mercy. An advice not very acceptable to him. But finding it grounded upon the judgment of the Physicians, he submitted himself to the hard law of necessity, and reflecting upon the course of his Life (which he much condemned) he professed himself confident, that through Christ his infinite Goodness all his sins, although they had been more in number and weight, might be pardoned. Being then demanded whether he desired to confer with any Divines; *With no other* (saith he) *but the Archbishop Cranmer, and not with him as yet; I will first repose my self a little, and as I then find my self will determin accordingly.*

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After the sleep of an hour or two finding himself fainting, he commanded the Archbishop (then at *Croydon*) should be sent for in all hast. Who using all possible speed came not until the King was speechless. As soon as he came, the King took him by the hand, the Archbishop exhorting him to place all his hope in God's Mercies through Christ, and beseeching him, that if he could not in words, he would by some sign or other testifie this his Hope: Who then wringed the Archbishop's hand as hard as he could, and shortly after expired, having lived fifty five years and seven months, and thereof reigned thirty seven years nine months and six days.

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Thus ended *Henry* the Eighth his Life and Reign, which for the first years of his Government was like *Nero's* Five years, Admirable; for often Victories and happy Success in War, Glorious; for the many Changes under it, Memorable; for the Foundation of the Churches Reformation, Laudable; to *Queens*, most unhappy; for the Death of so many (for the most) great Personages, Bloody; and for the frequent Exactions and Subsidies, and Sacrilegious Spoil of the Church, much Prejudicial to the Estate, Grievous and Burthenfom to the Subject.

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A N N A L S
O F
ENGLAND.
E D V V A R D
T H E
S I X T H.

The Second Book.



L O N D O N,
Printed for *Thomas Basset, John Wright, and Richard Chiswel.*
M. DC. LXXV.

A N N A L S

OF

ENGLAND.

EDWARD

THE

SIXTH.

The Second Part.



LONDON

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A N N A L S ● F E N G L A N D.

B o o k II.

E D W A R D the Sixth.

ANNO DOM. 1547. REG. I.



Oyalty like a *Pythagorean* Soul transmigrates. Although *Henry* were dead, the King was still alive, and survived in the person of young *Edward*, who began his Reign the eight and twentieth of *January*, then in the tenth year of his age; and having been on the last of the same Month proclaimed King, came the same day from *Enfield* (where the Court had then been) to the *Tower*, there according to the ancient custom of our Kings to abide until his Inauguration at *Westminster*. The next day the Council assembled for the managing of the Estate, conferred on the King's Uncle, *Edward Seymour* Earl of *Hertford* the honour and power of Protector of the King's Person and Kingdom. Who to season his new Dignity with some memorable act, on the sixth of *February*, dubbed the King Knight, the King presently imparting the same Honour to *Richard Hoblethorn* Lord Mayor of *London*.

On the fifteenth of *February* King *Henry* his Funerals were solemnized, and his Body Royally interred in the middle of the Quire in the Church at *Windfor*.

Two days after were some of the Nobility dignified with greater Honours, some new created. The Lord Protector Earl of *Hertford*, was made Duke of *Somerset*; *William Parr* Earl

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of

1547.

The Earl of
Hertford Pro-
tector.

King Henry's
Funerals.

1547.

The Coronation.

of *Essex*, Marquis of *Northampton*; *John Dudley* Viscount *Lisle*, Earl of *Warwick*; and the Lord Chancellour *Wriothesley*, Earl of *Southampton*. Sir *Thomas Seymour* Brother to the Protector and Lord Admiral, Sir *Thomas Rich*, Sir *William Willoughby*, and Sir *Edmond Sheffeld* were inrolled among the Barons. Other two days being fled after their predecessors, the King passed triumphantly from the *Tower* through *London* to *Westminster*, where he was solemnly crowned, anointed, and inaugurated by *Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. At what time also with incredible indulgence pardon of all crimes whatsoever was publicly proclaimed and granted to all persons throughout the Realm, six only being exempted from the benefit thereof, namely, the Duke of *Norfolk*, Cardinal *Pool*, the lately beheaded Marquis of *Exceter* his eldest Son, one *Throcmorton*, *Fortescue*, and *Richard Pate* late Bishop of *Worcester*, who lest he should be constrained to acknowledge the King Head of the Church, had some years passed fled to *Rome*.

The death of Francis King of France.

On the nineteenth of *June* in the Cathedral Church of *St. Paul* in *London* were celebrated the Exequies of *Francis* King of *France*. He deceased the two and twentieth of the precedent *March*, having been after the death of our *Henry* much disposed to melancholy, whether for that he failed in the hope of strengthening their late contracted amity with some stricter tie; or that being some few years the younger, he was by his death admonished of the like approaching fate. They were also of so conspiring a similitude of disposition and nature, that you shall hardly find the like between any two Princes of whatever different times. This bred a mutual affection in them, and as it were forcibly nourished the secret fire thereof between them, unless peradventure when emulation or the respect of publick utility swayed them the contrary way, so that the death of the one could not but much grieve the survivor. He therefore in the Cathedral at *Paris* celebrated the Funerals of *Henry*, though Excommunicated by the Pope. He also left one only Son named *Henry* inheritor of his Crown, whose Reign lasted but to the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*.

And now the affairs of *Scotland*, which have without doubt been great and memorable, crave a part in our History. We have before made mention of our League with *Scotland*, wherein it was determined concerning the Marriage between the now King *Edward* and the Queen of *Scots*. The times since then were full of continual jarrs. We at length resolved not to dally with them, but to undertake the War with forces agreeable to the cause. The Duke of *Somerset* by consent of the Privy Council is sent into *Scotland* with ten thousand Foot and six thousand Horse (besides Pioners and Artificers thirteen hundred) and and fifteen pieces of Brass Ordnance. To the Lord *Clinton* is assigned

1547.

assigned a Navy consisting of four and twenty men of War, one Galley, and thirty Ships of burthen, wherewith he was to scour the Seas, and infest the maritim parts of Scotland. On the third of September the Duke of Somerset made an hostile entrance upon the Enemies Countrey, and forthwith dispatched Letters to the Earl of Arren, Regent of Scotland, much to this effect: *That he wished the Scots would consider, that this war was waged among Christians, and that our ends were no other than a just Peace, whereto the endeavours of all good men should tend. An occasion not only of a League, but of a perpetual Peace was now happily offered, if they would suffer the two differing and emulous Nations by uniting the Heads to grow together. This as it had been formerly sought by us, so had it been generally assented to by the Estates of Scotland. Therefore he could not but wonder why they should rather treacherously recurr to Arms (the events of war being usually even to the Victor sufficiently unfortunate) than maintain inviolate their troth plighted to the good of both Nations. They could not in reason expect that their Queen should perpetually live a Virgin-life. And if she married, where could she bestow her self better, than on a puissant Monarch inhabiting the same Island, and parlying the same language? They saw what inconveniencies were the consequents of forein Matches, whereof they should rather make tryal by the examples of others, than at their own peril. He demanded nothing but equity; yet he so much abhorred the effusion of Christian blood, that if he found the Scots not utterly averse from an accord, he would endeavour that some of the Conventions should be remitted: He would also permit that the Queen should abide and be brought up among them until her age made her marriageable, at what time she should by consent of the Estates her self make choice of a Husband. In the mean time there should be a Cessation of Arms, neither should the Queen be transported out of her Realm, nor entertain treatise of Marriage with the French or any other foreiner. This if they would faithfully promise, he would forthwith peaceably depart out of Scotland; and whatsoever damages the Countrey had suffered by this invasion, he would according to the esteem of indifferent Arbitrators make ample satisfaction. The Scottish Army consisted of thirty thousand Foot, some speak a greater number. The chief Commanders whereof puffed up with confidence of their strength (although they had lately lost eight hundred in a tumultuary skirmish) and misconceiving our offers to proceed out of fear, reject all Conditions of Accord: And left upon knowledge of the equity of our demands, the Council should incline to resolutions of Peace, they conceal our Letters. And not only so, but upon assurance of Victory spread a rumour, that nothing would content the insolent English, but the delivery of the Queen, which if they could not otherwise, they would by force obtain, and proceed to the absolute conquest of the Kingdom. This report enraged the Souldiers, whom no motives could dissuade from*

1547.

Musselburgh-
Field.

present engaging themselves in Battel. The wiser sort were not ignorant of the necessities that long since began to press us, who were brought to that pass, that by reason of the difficulties of passages we could not make a safe retreat, nor force the Enemy to fight in regard of the strength of the place where he was encamped. But the vain hope of Victory had possessed the minds of the greater part, and excluded reason. Necessity forced us to a resolution brave and expedient, which was, to seek the Enemy in his lodging, and endeavour to draw him to combat. But the hot-spur *Scots* issuing from out their fastnesses, seemed willing to prevent us. So both Armies entertain a mutual resolution. A little before the joyning of the Armies an accident happened, which did not a little make way to our Victory. The Enemy marching along near the Sea-shoar, a piece of Ordnance discharged from our Galley took away five and twenty of their men, whereof the eldest Son of the Lord *Grimes* was one. Four thousand Archers terrified with so unexpected a slaughter made a stand, and could never after be brought on. The two Armies approaching each other, the Duke of *Somerset* commanded the Lord *Gray* with the Cavallery to charge the *Scots*, and find them employment until the Infantry had seized on an adjoining Hill, and if he could without much hazard, to disorder the Enemy. But they were gallantly received by a strong Squadron of Pikes, whereon some of the formost having too far engaged themselves were cast away, the rest retreated affirming, that it was as easie to force a Wall, as through the *Scottish* Ranks. The Duke makes a second trial by the light Horse, seconding them with the Ordnance and the Archers. The Enemy either not able to stand so violent a charge, or (as some relate) to draw us from the favour of our Cannon, begins to give ground, which we perceiving give a shout, crying out withal, *They fly, they fly*; which so amazed them, that some began to fly indeed, and at length the whole Army was routed. The *Scots* complain, that we tyrannized over the Captives, especially the Priests and Friars (whereof many served in this Field) because by their instigation chiefly our Conditions were so arrogantly rejected. Of the Enemies were slain thirteen thousand, and among them (beside the Earl of *Lohemor* and the Lord *Fleming*) the chief of the *Scottish* Gentry, with their Tenants, who thought it a disgrace to survive their Lords. In the chase were taken fifteen hundred, among whom were the Earl *Huntley* Chancellour of *Scotland*, the Lords *Hester*, *Hobbey*, and *Hamilton*, beside many other persons of Quality. This lamentable overthrow was given the tenth of *September*.

The *English* become Victors beyond their expectation, ransacked the Countrey five miles about, fortified in the Forth the forsaken Islands *Keth* and *Haymon*, took *Broctb* Castle, by their terrour forced

forced the Garrisons of *Humes* and *Faſtcaſtle* to yield, and having built a Fort at *Lauder*, and repaired the ruines of *Roxburgh*, by their departure recreated the dejected minds of the diſtreſſed *Scots*.

1547.

Reformation
in the Church.

Our affairs thus ſucceeding abroad, the Church at home had her changes. Many of the Council, but eſpecially the Protector, much endeavoured Reformation in point of Religion. The reſt, who were addiſted to the Doctrine of *Rome*, could for private reſpects temporize, fearing indeed reſtitution of Church goods (wherein each of them ſhared) unleſs an irreconcilable breach were made with that See. So that whiles ſome eagerly oppoſe Popery, and others coldly defend it, not only what had been enacted by *Henry* the Eighth concerning the abrogation of the Pope's authority is confirmed, but many other things are added, whereby our Church was ſo purged from the dregs of Superſtition, that for Purity of Doctrine, and Inſtitution of ſelect Eccleſiaſtical Rites, it excelled the moſt Reformed Churches of *Germany*. All Images are pulled down, Prieſts are permitted to marry, the *Liturgie* ſet forth in the *Engliſh* tongue, the *Eucharist* adminiſtered under both kinds, *Auricular Confeſſion* forbidden, no man prohibited the reading of the Scriptures, no *Maſſes* to be ſaid for the Souls of the departed, and many other things ordained, ſo far differing from the Inſtitution of our Forefathers, that it adminiſtered matter to the common people (who are wont to judge not according to *Reason*, but *Cuſtom*) of breaking out into Rebellion. And it is ſomewhat remarkable, that the ſame day wherein the Images, whereof the Churches were diſpoſſeſſed, were publickly burned at *London*, we obtained that memorable Victory over the *Scots* at *Muſſelburgh*.

This year at *Archbiſhop Cranmer* his invitation came into *England* *Peter Martyr* a *Florentine*, *Martin Bucer* of *Seleſtadt*, and *Paulus Phagiſ* born in the *Palatinate*: Who being very courteouſly received by the King and Nobles, having repoſed themſelves ſome while at *Canterbury*, were ſent, *Martyr* to *Oxford*, *Bucer* and *Phagiſ* to *Cambridge*, there publickly to Read *Divinity*; but *Phagiſ* having ſcarce ſaluted the Univerſity, deſeaſed of a *Quar-tan Ague* the twelfth of *November*, in the five and fortieth year of his age. Neither did *Bucer* long ſurvive him, who died at *Cambridge* the laſt of *February* 1551, being then threſcore years old. *Martyr* ſhortly after his coming to *Oxford*; maintained publickly in the Schools, and that with ſolid Arguments, againſt *Treſham* and *Chedſey* Opponents, that the Popiſh *Transubſtantiation* was but a meer fiction; which Diſputation he after published and enlarged.

ANNO DOM. 1548. REG. 2.

1548.

The Scots and
French besiege
Hadinton.

THe *English* having this year fortified and put a strong Garrison into *Hadinton* a Town seated in the most fertile soil of all *Scotland*, did from thence and *Lander* make often inroads upon the bordering Countrey, burning and spoiling whatsoever might be useful to the Enemy, from whom they expected a Siege. In the mean time had the *French* sent six thousand (ten thousand say we) men into *Scotland*, whereof three thousand were *Lanquenets* led by the *Rhinegrave*. The Lord of *Essé* a man of tried valour, famous in the Siege of *Landrecy* and other Expeditions was chief of the Army. These adventurers landing at *Dunbar*, march speedily for *Hadinton*, and joyning with the *Scottish* Forces consisting of eight thousand men straightly besiege it. At the Abbey near the Town they call a Council, treat of transporting the Queen into *France*, and marrying her to the Dauphin. They whom the respect of private ends had not corrupted and withdrawn from the care of the publick weal, objected, *That they should so draw on them a perpetual war from England, and betray themselves to the slavery of the French: That the Propositions made by the English were reasonable, who offered a ten years Truce, and sought not to entrap the Scot in any bands or prejudicial compact's, their demands being no other than this, That if within the ten years either the King of England, or the Queen of Scots should decease, all things should on each side remain entire and in their former estate: Delay had often in the like cases proved advantageous, whereas speedy repentance commonly followeth precipitated haste.* The Popish Faction (especially the Clergy, to whom the amity of *England* was little pleasing, in regard of the differences in Religion) and some others obliged to the *French* either in respect of received benefits or future profit, with might and main interposed to the contrary, and chiefly the Regent, bought with a Pension of four thousand Crowns, and the Command of one hundred Lances. The *French* Faction prevailed for her transportation. The Fleet from *Leith*, where it harboured, setting sail as if for *France*, fetching a compass round about *Scotland*, put in at *Dunbritton*, where they embarked the six-year-old Queen, attended by *James* her base Brother, *John Areskin*, and *William Leviston*, who being put back by contrary winds, and much distressed by tempest, arrived at length in *Little Bretaine*, and from thence set forward to the Court of *France*, so escaping our Fleet which hovered about *Calais* to intercept them, if (as we were perswaded they needs must) they crossed those neighbouring Straights. *Hadinton* in the mean time being straightly beleaguered, Sir *Robert Bowes* and Sir *Thomas Palmer* are with seven hundred Lances and six hundred light Horse sent to relieve it. *Buchanan* saith there were but three hundred Horse,

The Queen of
Scots trans-
ported into
France.

Horse, the rest Foot. Of what sort soever they were, it is certain that before they could reach *Hadington*, they were circumvented and slain almost to a man. Yet did not the besieged let fall their courages, but bravely defended themselves, until *Francis* Earl of *Shrewsbury* with an Army of twelve thousand *English* and four thousand *Laniquenets* disassieged them, and forced the *French* to retreat. The Earl having supplied the Town with necessaries, and reinforced the Garrison, returned to *Berwick*. What they could not by force, the Enemy hopes more easily to effect by a surprisal. To this end *D'Essé* with some select Bands arrives at *Hadinton* about the break of day, where having killed the Centinels and taken an Half-moon before the Port, some seek to force the Gates, some invade our adjoining Granaries. The noise and shouts of the assailants gives an alarm to the Garrison, who give fire to a Cannon planted before the Port; the Bullet whereof penetrating the Gate, makes way through the close ranks of the Enemies, and so affrights them, that they seek to save themselves by flight.

Fortune was not so favourable to the Garrisons of *Humes* and *Fastcastle*, where by the negligence of the Centinels, the designs of the Enemy were crowned with success. At *Humes*, being conducted by some that knew all the secret passages, they climb up a steep Rock, enter, massacre the secure Garrison, and enjoy the place. At *Fastcastle* the Governour had commanded the neighbouring Husbandmen at a prefixed day to bring in their contribution of Corn and other necessary provision. The Enemy makes use of this opportunity. Souldiers habited like *Pesants* at the day come fraught with their burthens, whereof easing their Horses, they carry them on their shoulders over the Bridge, which joyned two Rocks together, and so gain entrance: The watch-word being given, they cast down their burthens, kill the Centinels, open the Gates to their fellows, and become masters of the place. Neither were our Naval enterprises fortunate, being at *St. Minian* and *Merne* repelled with loss.

In Autumn the Earl of *Rutland* with three thousand *Laniquenets* and some Bands drawn out of the frontier Garrisons arrives at *Hadington*: Who duly considering that this Town could not be kept any longer without the excessive charges of a just Army, forasmuch as the Countrey about being miserably forraged, it could not be victualled without great difficulty and danger; rased the Walls, fired the Houses, brought away the Artillery, and finding no resistance, returned in safety to *Berwick*. *Buchanan* refers it to the ensuing year, but I follow the record of our own Historians.

And having thus far spent the year abroad, I at length return home, where I find *Stephen Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester* in the *Tower*. He was a man very learned, and no less subtil, adhering

1548.

Humes Castle

and

Fastcastle
gained by the
Enemy.Gardiner Bi-
shop of Win-
chester com-
mitted to the
Tower.

to

1548.

to the Popish Faction, yet so, as that he would be content to accommodate himself to the current of the times. King *Henry* had employed him in many Embassages, and that with ample authority, under whom he durst not oppose the proceedings confirmed by enacted Laws. And under *Edward* he repressed himself for a time, seemingly consenting to the commenced Reformation. But his dissimulation was at length manifestly discovered to the Privy Council, who had commanded him in a Sermon at *Pauls* Cross to signify his approbation of the present estate of the Church, which he accordingly did on the nine and twentieth of *June*, but so ambiguously and obscurely, that he satisfied them not. And being expressly forbidden to speak any thing concerning the *Eucharist*, he knowing that by the Laws nothing was definitively determined in that point, did so eagerly assert that Papistical (I will not say Capernaïtical) Corporal and Real Presence of *Christ* in the Sacrament, that he wonderfully offended the minds of many, but especially of the Lords of the Council. Wherefore he was on the thirtieth of *June* committed, and obstinately refusing to acknowledge his error, was two years after deprived of his Bishoprick, and (as he was of a turbulent spirit) lest he should practise any thing against the Estate, detained nevertheless in prison until the death of *Edward*. In the mean time Archbishop *Cranmer* by writing oppugned that gross and carnal assertion of the Church of *Rome* concerning *Christ's* Presence in the Sacrament; whom *Gardiner* secretly answered under the fictitious name of *M. Constantius*.

Gardiner deprived of his Bishoprick.

Boner Bishop of London committed also.

Neither did that Blood-sucker *Boner* Bishop of *London* (who in Queen *Maries* Reign so heated the Kingdom with the Funeral Piles of so many Saints) speed any better than *Winchester*. For being likewise enjoined to Preach at the Cross, he did it so coldly, omitting many of those points whereof he was commanded to speak, that he was likewise committed, deprived of his Bishoprick, and so lived until Queen *Mary* set them both at liberty. What the Objections were against *Cutbert Tonstall* Bishop of *Durresm*, and *George Day* Bishop of *Chichester*, I do not find, but that they ran the same fortune is manifest. They were both very Learned Prelates, but especially *Tonstall*, a mild man, and of most sweet conditions, in regard whereof I do not a little wonder that he was so hardly dealt with. But the drift of the punishments of such men, who in *Henry's* time were accounted the chief Lights of our Church, I conceive to have been, that the rest of that Order might by their example be admonished, without dissimulation either to resign their Bishopricks to others that were thought more worthy, or be induced to conform themselves to the present Reformation of the Church, according to the precept of the Laws in that behalf lately Enacted. And yet I would there were not sufficient cause to suspect, that this was but

but a made opportunity, the removal of these obstacles making way for the Invasion of these widow Seas. For as soon as *Tonstall* was exautorated; that rich Bishoprick of *Duresm* by Act of Parliament was wrecked, the chief revenues and customs of it being incorporated to the Crown, and the rest in despite of the Tenants so gelded, that at this day it scarce possesseth the third part of its antient Revenues. Yet did Queen *Mary* seriously endeavour the restitution of those religious portions: Queen *Elizabeth* would hardly consent that it should lose any of its plumes, (yet some it did) and King *James* hath lately enacted against the Alienation of Church-lands, yea even to the Crown, otherwise than upon reservation of a reasonable Rent, and the return of them to the Church after the expiration of three lives or one and twenty years. The hungry Courtier finding how good a thing the Church was, had now for some years become acquainted with it out of a zealous intent to Prey: Neither could the horridness of her sacred Skeleton as yet so work on him, as to divert his resolutions, and compassionately to leave the Church to her religious poverty. Beside, the infancy of the King in this uncertain ebb and flow of Religion, made her opportune to all kind of Sacrilege. So that we are deservedly to thank the Almighty Guardian of the Church, that these Locusts have not quite devoured the Maintenance of the Labourers in this *English* Vineyard. For we yet retain that antient form of government in the Primitive Church by Bishops, who have for the most part wherewith to support their honourable Function, as likewise have other those subordinate Prelates, Deans, Archdeacons, and Canons of Cathedral Churches: And as for our Preachers of the more polite and learned sort, we think him little befriended by Fortune, who long liveth in expectation of a competent preferment. I would the residue of the Reformed Churches of Christendom had not been pared so near the quick by precise hands, that but some few of them might in this kind be paralleled with ours.

And now behold two Brothers acting their several Tragedies. Jealousie, Envy, and Ambition infernal Furies, had armed them against each other, and the Pride of the Feminine Sex prepared them for the Lists. A lamentable exigent, wherein the loss of his Adversary must be the destruction of each; wherein the Kingdom must groan at the loss of one, both being in the Estate incompatible; wherein the King himself must (as most suspect he did) suffer, that he might not suffer. *Thomas Seymour* Lord Admiral had married *Catharine Parr* the Widow of the deceased King. What correspondence there might be between Her (who had been the Wife of the late Sovereign) and the Duchess of *Somerset*, whose Husband being Protector of the Realm, in point of command little differed from a Sovereign, and had over his Brother the Admiral the Advantages of Age, Dignity, and

1548.

Discord between the Duke of Somerset and his Brother the Lord Admiral.

1548.

general Esteem, if any man cannot without difficulty conjecture, I refer him to the first Book of *Herodian*, where let him observe the contentions arising between *Crispina* the Wife of *Commodus*, and *Lucilla*, who had been formerly married to *L. Verus* the Emperour. But in this the divers dispositions of the Brothers set on edge on the emulous humours of their Wives. The Duke was mild, affable, free, open, and no way malicious; the Admiral was naturally turbulent, fierce, ambitious, and conceived himself to be of the two the fitter for Publick Government. Presently after the death of *Henry*, the Admiral thrust on by the flattery of his overweening conceits, resolved to add a lustre to his good parts, by marrying the Lady *Elizabeth*, as yet indeed scarce marriageable. But the Protector wisely considering how rash and perilous this project was, frustrated that design. By his after marriage with *Catharine* a most beautiful and noble Lady, and abounding with wealth befitting her dignity, most men were confident, that the gulf of his vast desires would have been satisfied; but the Law whereby he was condemned (though peradventure Enacted by strength of Faction) will manifest the contrary. What notice I have received, and what the publick Records testify concerning this, being perswaded, that they swerve not much from the truth, I think I may without blame relate. The Admiral having now fortified himself with money and friends, and deeming his Brother's Lenity, Sluggishness, began to behold him with the eye of contempt, and to cast about how to dispossess him of the saddle, and (being of like degree of consanguinity to the King) to enjoy the seat himself. To the furtherance of this project it would be conducive, secretly to vilify and traduce the Protector's actions, to corrupt the King's Servants, especially if in any degree of favour, by fair words and large promises by degrees to assure himself of the Nobility, to secure his Castle of *Holt* with a Magazin of warlike provision, but above all to take care for money the nerves of *War* and assurance of *Peace*. These things having been ordered with exact diligence, and for supply of coin the Exchequer mightily pilled, he unmasks himself to some of the Nobility, signifying his intent of settling himself at the Stern, by forcibly seizing on the King's person. Nay his madness so far transported him, that to one of them, conditionally that his assistance were not wanting to the advancement of his designs, he promised that the King should marry his Daughter. In the mean time the Queen his Wife being in *September* delivered of a Daughter, died in child-bed, and that not without suspicion of Poison. For after her death he more importunately sought the Lady *Elizabeth* than ever, eagerly endeavouring to procure her consent to a clandestine Marriage (as was that with the deceased Queen) and not until after the Nuptials, to crave the assent of the King or the Lords of the Council.

ANNO

ANNO DOM. 1549. REG. 3.

1549.

The Lord Admiral beheaded.

BUt the Admiral's projects being opportunely discovered, and a Parliament lately assembled, he is by the authority thereof committed to the *Tower*, and without tryal condemned. The Parliament being on the fourteenth of *March* dissolved, he is on the sixth day after publickly beheaded, having first vehemently protested, that he never willingly did either actually endeavour, or seriously intend any thing against the Person of the King, or the Estate. Concerning his death the opinions of men were divers, their censures divers. Among some the Protector heard ill, for suffering his Brother to be executed without ordinary course of trial: As for these faults proceeding from the violence of youthful heat, they might better have been pardoned, than the King be left destitute of an Uncle's help, or himself of a Brother's. Nay (they say) there wanted not those that before this severe course taken with the Admiral, admonished the Protector to have a heedie regard to this action: Some peradventure might be content to let a Brother shed *tears*; to shed his *blood*, when they might prevent it, scarce any: it was much to be feared lest his Brother's death would be his ruine, and the loss of such Friends, a hazard to the King. Others highly extolled his impartial proceeding, whom fraternal affection could not divert from righting his Countrey: For if Consanguinity or Alliance to the King should be a sufficient cause to exempt them from punishment, who should plot and contrive the change of government in the Estate; upon what ticklish terms should we all stand; whiles nothing could be certain and sure in the publick government? Others maintained the necessity of cutting off the Admiral, and that it stood the Protector upon so to do, if he either regarded his own or the King's safeguard. For at what other mark did the Admiral aim, but that having seised on the King's Person, removed his Brother from the Protectorship, and married the Lady *Elizabeth*, he might by Poison or some other means make away the young King already deprived of his Friends, and as in the right of his Wife invest himself in the Regal Throne, whereto the Lady *Mary* (although the elder Sister) as incestuously begotten, could make no claim: And thus much was in a Sermon delivered before the King by *Hugh Latimer*, who having ten years since resigned his Bishoprick, had also hitherto abstained from Preaching, until after the death of King *Henry* this Light was again restored, that by his rays he might illustrate God's Church. But how true his conjectures were concerning the Lord *Seymour*, I will not undertake to determine. Whether faulty in his ambition, or over-born by his envious adversaries, thus ended the Admiral his life, who was indeed a valiant

1549.

An Insurre-
ction

Commander, and not unfit for a Consultation, in whose ruine the Protector was likewise involved:

Not long after this great man's fall, the People throughout almost the whole Realm brake out into a Rebellion, whereto the frequent usurpations and avarice of the Gentry, who in many places enclosed the common and waste grounds for their own pleasure and private profit, had incited them. The Lords of the Council upon notice of the Peoples discontents, and the probability of an Insurrection unless speedy course were taken to appease them, dispatched some into *Kent* (the Fountain of this general Uproar) who should upon due examination of the causes of the Peoples grievances, admonish those that were in that kind faulty, by throwing open the Inclosures to restore to the People what had been unjustly taken from them; otherwise they should by Authority Royal be forced thereunto, and by their punishments serve to deter others from the like insolencies and oppressions. The most part obey, and (a most grateful spectacle to the People) cause their new made Inclosures to be again laid open. Wherewith Report acquainting the neighbouring Shires, the unruly multitude enraged, that like restitution had not as yet been made to them, not expecting the necessary direction of the Magistrate, but as if each one were authorized in his own cause, both to judge of and revenge received injuries, taking Arms level the Dikes, assert the inclosed the Lands, and give hope that there their fury would be at a stand. But as the Sea having once transgressed the just limits of its shoar, by little and little eats its way to an Inundation, and is not but with excessive toil to be forced within its usual bounds: So these having once transcended the precripts of the Laws, let themselves loose to all kind of licentiousness, over-run and spoil the Countrey, murder those that favour not their proceedings, and at length by the conflux of the baser sort and malecontents so increase their numbers, that it was not to make head against them with small Forces. And although this plague reigned more in *Norfolkshire* than any where else, yet had it so spread its contagion over the most part of the Kingdom, that it was scarce any where sincere and free from infection. For the Counties of *Kent*, *Oxford*, *Surrey*, *Buckingham*, *Essex*, *Cambridge*, *York*, *Lincoln*, but especially *Devon* and *Somerset* were imbroiled in these tumults. In *Norfolk* only had twenty thousand assembled, who now confident of their strength, did no more talk of Inclosures, but stretched their complaints to a higher strain; as that, *The free-born Commonalty was oppressed by a small number of Gentry, who glut themselves with pleasure, whiles the poor Commons wasted with daily labour do like pack-horses live in extreme slavery. But howsoever the calamities incident to this present life may with a constant patience be endured, the Soul is to be redeemed even with a thousand deaths. Holy Rites established by antiquity, are abolished,*

in Norfolk,

1549.

abolished, new ones are authorized, and a new form of Religion obtruded. To other evils death gives an end; but if they suffer their Souls to be contaminated and polluted by this kind of impiety, what thing is there that can equal them in miseries, to whom the end of these present ones is but the beginning of some more horrid, namely of the pains infernal, which no death can ever terminate. Why then should they not go to the Court, and appoint the King yet in his minority new Counsellors, removing those who now ruling as they list, confound things sacred and prophane, regarding nothing else but the enriching of themselves with the publick Treasure, that they may riot it amid the publick calamities?

This was the common complaint and resolution, especially of the *Devonshire* Rebels, who having among them made choice of their Chieftains, did endeavour to unite themselves with the rest of their fellow Rebels. But to keep them from joyning, Forces are dispatched, some into *Norfolk*, some into *Devonshire*. For *Norfolk* are designed only fifteen hundred under the conduct of the Marquis of *Northampton*, who for a time bravely defended that spacious but weak City *Norwich* against the insolent Clowns. But his small Troops being much diminished by the loss of the Lord *Sheffield* and some others, he was at last fain to quit the City to the Enemy, who after spoil barbarously set it on fire; and consumed a great part of the edifices. This ill success drove the Lords of the Council to a more serious apprehension of the danger, who thereupon sent the Earl of *Warwick* with more competent Forces, who (as he was an excellent Commander) not only forced the Rebels to relinquish the City, but also pressed them so hard in their retreat, that he compelled them to fight. They seeing a necessity of battel imposed, placed all their Captives (for the most part Gentlemen) manacled and chained together, in front, that they alone might bear the fury of the onset, and dull both the swords and courages of the Royalists. But their loyalty was not so ill recompenced, as to suffer for it, scarce any of them falling by the sword. The Rebels were nevertheless overthrown, and all either taken or slain except a very few, who rallying themselves, seemed desperately resolved to renew the fight. But the proposal of a Pardon made them cast away their Arms, and peaceably to depart. The number of the chief authors of this Commotion, who were hanged, was great. But *Robert Ket* a Tanner, who in those times, and by that trade had gathered a fortune of a brace of thousands, was above all as in Fault, so in Execution remarkable. He had been the Chieftain in this Rebellion, and was not in reason to be obscured among the common sort: Wherefore it being thought fit that he should surmount them in the glory of a more notorious punishment, he was fairly hanged in Chains on the very top of *Norwich* Castle.

While the Eastern parts of the Kingdom were thus possessed, the Western parts were not less tormented with the same Furies.

Devonshire

and in *Devonshire*.

1549.

Devonshire and *Cornwall* with some additions out of *Somersetshire*, had on the same pretences armed fifteen thousand men, who after they had licentiouslly ransacked the Countrey, at length late down before the famous City of *Exceter*. Forty days they besieged it, and were repulsed by the Inhabitants, though utterly destitute of warlike provision. On the sixth of *August*, *John* Lord *Russel* (after Earl of *Bedford*) entring the City with forces and munition, disassieged it, pursued the Rebels, slew some, took others, to the number of four thousand, whereof many were after executed; but especially *Humfrey Arundell* Captain of *St. Michael's-Mount* in *Cornwall*, a man of antient descent and sufficiently ample revenues: so that I cannot sufficiently wonder, what madness drave him to associate himself with this desperate and unruly rabble. With him were hanged *Robert Bochyn*, *Jo. Tomson*, *Roger Barret*, *Jo. Ul-cocke*, *Will. Asa*, *James Norton*, *Jo. Baron*, and *Richard Benet* Priests, and besides them, *John* and *James Rosogan*, *Jo. Payne*, *Tho. Underhill*, and *Jo. Solman*, all prime incendiaries and chief authors of this tumult. The City of *Exceter* in memory of this their delivery hath ever since with an anniversary solemnity kept the sixth of *August* holy. As for the other Counties infested with the reliques of this Rebellion, the evil being tempestively suppressed before it spread itself, and the ringleaders punished, they were quickly reduced to their former temper.

Some Forts lost
in Boloignois.

* Corruptly
Bonlambeig.

Neither were our affairs more peaceable abroad than at home. For *Henry* King of *France* taking advantage of our domestick sedition, not regarding the League concluded between us and his Father, invaded *Boloignois*, where his success was such, that he was animated to greater attempts. He sets forth a Fleet for the taking in of the Isles of *Jersey* and *Guarnsey* the sole portions remaining to the *English* of the Duchy of *Normandy*. At these Isles the *French* are with great loss driven aboard their Ships. At the landing they lost a thousand men, and we very few. About *Bouloigne*, * *Mont-Lambert*, *Sellaque*, and *Ambleteul* were lost. *Sellaque* was defended by two Ensigns: But having been battered by the Enemy, while we unwarily parley with *Montmorency*, was on the five and twentieth of *August* forced by them. At *Ambleteul* were six Ensigns of Foot, who for some days made good the place: But finding themselves unable long to hold out against so great forces, upon no other terms than grant of lives, yielded the Fort to the *French*. The loss of these places so daunted the Garrison at *Blancomet*, that having been scarce saluted by the Enemies Cannon, upon condition of life and goods they quitted the place. Neither was this the last important effect of our conceived terror; for the *English* at *Mont-Lambert* not so much as attending the coming of the Enemy, fired their lodgings, made their provision unuseful, and retreated to *Guisnes*. The Fort at the Tower of *Ordre* fortified both by nature and art, gave a period to this
years

years success; standing resolutely upon defence until the extremity of Winter forced the *French* to raise their siege.

The loss of these small pieces set the Protector in the wane of the vulgar opinion, and afforded sufficient matter for Envy to work on. Among the Lords of the Privy Council the most eminent was the Earl of *Warwick*, a man of a vast spirit, which was the more enlarged by the contemplation of his great Acts performed both abroad and at home. He had long looked a-quoit upon *Somerset's* greatness, whom in a favourable esteem of himself he deemed far beneath him; and was withal perswaded, that could he but remove the Duke, due regards would cast the Protectorship on him. The consideration also of the Duke's nakedness (disarmed of that mettlesome piece the Admiral)

1549.

Enmity between the Protector and the Earl of Warwick.

———— (*En quo discordia Fratres
Perduxit miseros*) ————

made his hopes present themselves in the more lively shapes. He seeks about for sufficient matter wherewith to charge the Duke, who could not be long ignorant of these practices against him. The Duke finding himself aimed at, but not well discerning whether the Earl intended a legal or military process against him, on the sixth of *October*, from *Hampton-Court* where the King then resided, sent Letters to the City of *London*, requiring from thence an aid of a thousand men, who should guard the King and him from the treacherous attempts of some ill-affected Subjects. And in the mean time presseth in the adjacent Countrey; where having raised a reasonable company, he the same night carried away the King, attended by some of the Nobility and some of the Council, from thence to *Windsor*, a place, because fortified, more safe, and convenient for resistance. But the Earl had made a greater part of the Council, who accompanied him at *London*. To them he makes a formal complaint against the Protector, beseeching them, by their assistance to secure him from the Protector's malice, who sought to entrap him for his life. These Lords send a contre-Letter to the *Londoners*, demanding aids of them for the delivery of the King out of the hands of his Enemy (for so they were pleased to term the Duke.) Then they send abroad Proclamations, wherein they insert the chief heads of their accusation; as that *By sowing seeds of discord, the Duke had troubled that settled and peaceable estate wherein King Henry had left this Kingdom; and had been the chief cause that it had lately been engaged in Civil wars to the loss of many thousand lives: That many Forts conquered by Henry with hazard of his Person, were by the Duke's either cowardise or treachery regained by the Enemy: That he regarded not the advice of the rest of the Lords of the Council, and had plainly neglected King Henry's Instructions concerning the Government of*
the

1549.

the Kingdoms of England and Ireland: That his chief Studies, and wherein he was most seen, were to rake up wealth, to maintain a Faction among the Nobility, and yet comply with both parties for his own advantages, to build stately Palaces far exceeding the proportion of a Subject, and that even in the very instant that the Estate did shrink under the burthen both of intestine and forein Wars.

The Duke certified of their proceedings, and seeing himself forsaken (for the *Londoners* being prepossessed, were so far from supplying him, that they at the same time afforded his Adversary five hundred, and the greatest part of the Nobility had by joyning with the Earl made their cause one) at last forsook himself also; and craving of the adverse party, that they would abstain from violence toward him, and proceed only according to the usual courses of Legal tryal; delivered the King to their tuition, and remitted himself to their disposal; by whom on the fourteenth of *October* he was committed to the *Tower*, together with Sir *Michael Stanhop*, Sir *Thomas Smith*, Sir *John Thin*, and some others.

*The Protector
committed.*

*The death of
Paul the Third,
Pope.*

On the tenth of *November* died *Paul* the Third, having late Pope near about fifteen years. The Conclave of Cardinals consulting about the election of a new Pope, began to have regard of Cardinal *Pool*, in whom the greatness of his Extract, his Virtuous Life, Gravity, and admirable Learning, were very considerable motives. The Conclave was at that time divided, some were *Imperialists*, some *French*, and a third Part (whereof the Cardinal *Farnese* was principal) stood Neuter. These later at length joyning with the *Imperialists*, cast their unanimous Votes upon *Pool*: Who upon notice of his Election, blamed them for their rashness, advising them again and again, that they should not in their Consultations be misled by perturbation of mind, or do any thing for friendship or favour, but totally to direct their cogitations to the honour of God and the profit of his Church.

*Cardinal Pool
elected Pope.*

Pool himself having thus put off the matter, the *French* Cardinals began to alledge, That in regard of the difficulties of ways and distance of places, many of the Colledge were yet absent, and that there was no reason why they should with such precipitation proceed to a partial Election before the Conclave were full. The Cardinal *Caraffa* (who some years after was Pope, by the name of *Paul* the Fourth) a wayward old man, whose cold spirits were set on fire by Envy and Ambition, sought to make use of *Pool's* Modesty to his own advantage, hoping himself as eminent and in as fair a way as any of the Colledge (*Pool* excepted) might be advanced to the Chair, and to lessen the favour of the Conclave towards *Pool*, he betook himself to calumnies, accusing *Pool* of suspicion of Heresie and Incontinency, that *In Germany* and his Legacy at *Trent*, he had too much favoured the Lutherans, had often entertained *Immanuel Tremellius*, had enrolled *Antonio Flaminio* suspected of Lutheranism, in his Family, and promoted him to many

Eccle-

1549.

Ecclesiastical Dignities ; and in his Legacy at Viterbo used not that severity against that sort of men , that was requisite. Neither could that composed gravity so free him from the taint of looseness , but that many were of opinion he had cloistered a Virgin of his own begetting : That he wondred what the Conclave meant , with so impetuous a current to proceed to the Election of this one man , and he a Foreiner : As if Italy it self were so barren of deserving men , that we must be fain to send for this man out of Britain , almost the farthest part of the known world , to invest him in the Papacy ; whereof what would be the effect , but that the Emperour , at whose devotion this man wholly was , might once again make himself Master of Rome , now by indulgence , as before by force.

To these allegations *Pool's* reply was such , that he not only cleared himself , but also quickned the almost extinguished desires of the Conclave to elect him. The major part whereof assembling at his Chamber by night , wished *Ludovico Priulo* the Cardinal's bosom-friend (between whom the correspondence of of their dispositions had bred a mutual affection) to awake him , for that having Elected him , they were purposely come (an accustomed ceremony) to Adore him , and dissolve the Conclave. *Priulo* having signified to him with testimonies of excessive joy , the intent of these Cardinals , was gently blamed by him , and they dismissed with this answer , *That a matter of so great consequence (carrying with it so great a burthen , that it would deterr an ingenuous man from the acceptation of it) was not to be tumultuously , but upon mature deliberation orderly to be transacted : as for the season , it was utterly unfit , forasmuch as God was the God of Light , and not of Darknes : they should therefore do well to deferr it until the next day , and if then their resolutions proved the same , he would submit himself to their pleasures.* The Italian Cardinals conceiving these delays to proceed out of stupidity , began to contemn him , and changing their determinations , a little after pitched upon Cardinal *Montanus* , whom they created Pope , by the name of *Julius* the Third.

ANNO DOM. 1550. REG. 4.

1550.

THE Duke of *Somerset* having now for three months continued a prisoner , and not convicted of any crime which might touch his life ; it being not thought fitting that so great a man , lately Protector of the King's Person and Realm , should for a small offence be condemned to perpetual imprisonment ; is under-hand dealt with to submit himself , with acknowledgement that he had deserved this or whatsoever greater punishment the King should be pleased to inflict on him , and withal to implore the favour of his Majesty's Royal Clemency. To this he easily

1550.

The Duke of
Somerlet set
at liberty.

condescended, and was on the sixth of *February* set a liberty, but not restored to the dignity of Protector, only contenting himself with the rank of a Privy Counsellor. But it being conceived, that revenge might draw the Duke to new practices, by mediation of Friends he is reconciled to the Earl of *Warwick*, and that this atonement might be the more firm and sincere, the Duke's Daughter is on the third of *June* married to the Viscount *Lisle* the Earl of *Warwick's* Son, the King gracing the Nuptials with his presence. *Thuanus* (I know not upon what grounds) writeth, That the Earl by a kind of counterfeit shew that he was desirous of the restitution of the *Romish* Religion, had settled himself in the good opinion of the vulgar, who had not yet learned to renew themselves by casting off the old skin, but revered Superstition for its reputed Antiquity: and that his dissimulation being discovered, fearing lest he should be forsaken of them whom he had with false hopes deluded, the consideration thereof, and of the Duke's mild and free disposition, would endear his Adversary to them: to prevent this danger he contrived this alliance with the Duke, and procured his liberty.

In the mean of these passages, on the nineteenth of *January* the Lord *Russel* Lord Privy Seal, was created Earl of *Bedford*, *William* Lord *Saint-John* Earl of *Wiltshire*, and Sir *William Paget* Lord *Paget*.

Peace with the
Scots and
French.

The Earl of *Bedford* and the Lord *Paget* were within three days after with Sir *William Peters* and Sir *John Mason* dispatched into *France* for the Treaty of a Peace with the Deputies appointed by the *French*, who were *Montmorency* Governour of *Picardy*, *Gasper Coligny* Lord of *Chastillon* afterward Admiral of *France*, *Andrew Gillar Mortair* and *William Boucherelle*. The Lord *Paget* not long before had been sent to the Emperour to signifie how we were distressed on the one side by the *Scots*, and on the other by the *French*, and miserably rent at home by intestine dissensions, that our necessities required speedy succours, or would force us to condescend to an inconvenient Peace with *France*. But perceiving nothing was to be obtained of him, we strook hands with the *French* upon these conditions.

That *Boloigne* and all the Forts in *Boloignois* should be surrendered to the *French*, together with the Artillery and other military provision:

That in lieu thereof the King of *France* should pay unto *Edward* four hundred thousand Crowns by equal portions, at two payments:

That the English should restore to the *Scots*, *Lauder* and *Douglas*; and (if the Queen of *Scots* should desire it) should raise their Fortifications in *Haymon* and at *Roxburgh*.

The Emperour was on both sides comprehended in the League, and the Queen of *Scots* by the *French*. The two Kings presented each

each other with their Military Orders; and (as one writeth) it was on both parts agreed on, that *Edward* should marry one of the Daughters of *France*. For the ratification of the Articles, on the eighth of *April* Hostages were given:

1550.

By Us,

The Duke of Suffolk,
The Earl of Hertford Son to the Duke of Somerset,
The Earl of Arundel,
The Earl of Derby,
The Earl of Bath.

By the French,

John of Bourbon Duke of Anguien,
Claud of Lorain Marquis of Mayenne,
Francis Son to the Constable Montmorency,
Lewis of Tremoville,
Francis of Vendosme Vidame of Chartres,
Claud d'Annebalt.

This Peace between us and *France* was on the third of *March* solemnly Proclaimed in *London*, and on the five and twentieth of *April*, *Bouloigne* being accordingly surrendered to the *French*; our Hostages were returned.

On the thirtieth of *July* died the Lord *Wriothesley* Knight of the Garter, late Lord Chancellour of *England* and Earl of *Southampton*. He had about the beginning of this King's Reign delivered up the Seal, the Custody whereof was committed to the Lord *Rich*. But having been about half a year past removed (as was also the Earl of *Arundel*, but for what cause is uncertain) from the Council Table, he at length (whether out of Grief or some other cause) fell sick and died. He was Father to *Henry* the second Earl, and Grandfather to *Henry* the third Earl of *Southampton* not long since deceased, who having tasted of both fortunes, did heretofore as generously behave himself in adversity, as he did since moderately in prosperity, whereto by the Clemency of our late Sovereign he was restored.

ANNO DOM. 1551. REG. 5.

Mention hath formerly been made concerning the Sweating Sicknes, a disease to which *England* hath given a name, as well in regard of its original, as of the known disposition of our Bodics to admit of this virulent contagion. *England* had been formerly afflicted with it, but never so mortally as this present

1551.

The Sweating Sicknes.

1551.



year. *Shrewsbury* was now the first place acquainted with this Pestilence, there it began in *April*, and thence diffusing it self over the most part of the Kingdom, at length it vanished away in the North about the beginning of *October*. The fury of it was such, as if it would never end but by its proper cruelty, when it should not have left subjects whereon to feed. The dead whom it swept away were numberless. In *London* only eight hundred was scarce a seven-nights stint. It made its first entry into this Island in the Reign of *Henry* the Seventh *Anno* 1486, and from hence it took its progress into other Nations. The Infected flowed away, and within the space of twenty four hours when this malignant disease was most merciful in its execution, peradventure within twelve, did sweat out their Souls. Women, children, and old men it for the most part over-passed, and wreaked it self on the robustious youth and well compact middle age, who, if in the beginning of their sickness did but slumber, perished instantly. If it seized on any that were full gorged, the recovery was in a manner desperate. Nay and of others whatsoever they were, scarce one of a hundred escaped, until time had found out a remedy; the manner whereof was thus: If any be taken in the day time, he must without shifting of his apparel betake himself to bed: If by night and in bed, let him not stir thence, until twenty four hours be run. In the mean let the coverture be such, that it provoke not sweat, but that it may gently distil of it self: if it be possible for him so long to forbear, let him not eat nor drink more than may moderately serve to extinguish thirst: But above all, let him so patiently endure heat, that he uncover not any part of his body, no not so much as a hand or a foot. The strangeness of this disease I do not so much admire; for that *Pliny* in his twenty sixth Book the first Chapter witnesseth, and daily experience teacheth us, that every Age produceth new and Epidemical diseases. But that which surpasseth the search of humane reason is this, that this Pestilence afflicted the *English* in what part of the World soever, without touching the Natives, but in *England* alone. This dire contagion promiscuously impoverisht the Land of people of all sorts: among those of especial note were *Henry* Duke of *Suffolk*, and his Brother, who were the Sons of *Charles Brandon*, the King's Cousins germane, young Gentlemen of great and lively hopes: by the death of *Henry*, the Duchy was for some few hours devolved to the younger Brother, who had the unhappy honour but to be seized of the Title and die. The Lord *Gray* Marquis of *Dorset* having married *Frances* the eldest Daughter of *Charles Brandon*, in the right of his Wife made claim to the Duchy, and was on the eleventh of *October* invested in it. At what time also *John Dudley* Earl of *Warwick* was created Duke of *Northumberland*; *William Powlet* Earl of *Wiltshire*, Marquis of *Winchester*; and Sir *William Herbert*

The death of
the Duke of
Suffolk.

A creation
of Dukes and
Earls.

Herbert Lord Cardif Master of the Horse, Earl of *Pembroke*. The masculine Line of *Dudley* and *Gray* hath been long since extinct: Of the Family of the *Poylets* we have spoken already: The Lord *Herbert* Brother-in-Law to Queen *Catharine Parr*, derived himself from *William Herbert* in the time of *Edward* the Fourth Earl of *Pembroke*, and was succeeded in the Earldom by his Son *Henry* Father to *William* the modern Earl (whose mature wisdom and gravity even in his greener years, long since ranked him in the sage Senate of the Privy Council to two successive Kings) and to *Philip* by King *James* created Earl of *Montgomery*. Then also were knighted Sir *John Cheeke* the King's Schoolmaster, Sir *Henry Dudley*, Sir *Henry Nevill*, and (whom I cannot mention but with due honour) Sir *William Cecill*. *Cecill* I say, who then Secretary of Estate, was afterward by all *Europe* held in admiration for his wisdom; whom Queen *Elizabeth* made Lord Treasurer of *England* and Baron of *Burleigh*, and was whilest he lived a second prop of this Estate; who on the fourth of *August* 1598 piously ended his long, but for the publick weals sake ever restless life, leaving two Sons, *Thomas* by King *James* created Earl of *Exceter*, and *Robert* out of the same Fountain of Royal Goodness Earl of *Sarisbury* and Lord Treasurer of *England*.

And now the ill cemented affections of the Dukes of *Somerset* and *Northumberland* dissolved into open enmity. In the prosecution whereof, *Somerset*, otherwise of a most mild disposition (but *Patience* abused oft runneth into the extreme of *Fury*) provoked by continual injuries, resolved (as some write) to murder *Northumberland*. To this end, but under colour of a visit, privily armed, and well attended by Seconds who awaited him in an outer Chamber, he comes to his Adversary at that time by reason of some indisposition of Body keeping his Chamber, hath access unto him naked as he was in his Bed, but is so courteously entertained, and with such smooth language, that the Duke of *Somerset* good man repenting himself of his Bloody Resolutions, would not Execute what he purposely came for. At his departure one of his Conspirators is reported to have asked him, *whether he had done the Feat?* and upon his denial to have added, *Then you are undone*. This his intent being by his own Party bewrayed, a second Accusation is engrossed against him. The matter is referred to the Council Table, and he on the sixteenth of *October* again committed to the *Tower* together with the Duchess his Wife, the Lord *Gray of Wilton*, Sir *Ralph Vane*, Sir *Thomas Palmer*, Sir *William Partridge*, Sir *Michael Stanhop*, Sir *Thomas Arundell*, and many other of his Friends.

On the first of *December* the Marquis of *Winchester* (being for that day High Steward, he is Arraigned for Treason against the Estate, which he had not only ill but treacherously managed; and for Conspiracy against the Duke of *Northumberland*. Of Treason

1551.

The descent of
the Earls of
Pembroke.

Enmity be-
tween the
Dukes of So-
merfet and
Northumber-
land revived.

1551.

Treason he cleared himself, and his Peers acquitted him. For the Conspiracy he was by his own Confession condemned, and that by virtue of a Law Enacted 3 *Hen.* 7. which made the very Intent, nay Imagination of Killing a Privy Counsellour punishable by Death. But howsoever the Law (Enacted as some conceive upon somewhat differing intents and meaning) were extended to the highest of its rigour, yet can I not but wonder, how a man so great in the regards of his Reigning Nephew, of his Honours, of the Popular Favour, should be so destitute of Learned Advice, as not to exempt himself from a Felonious Death by his *Clergy*. But such were the Times, such his Misfortunes in the minority of his Prince; from whose revengeful Hand how could the adverse Faction presume themselves secure in the future? Neither could they choose but be somewhat terrified with that Echoing Testimony of the Peoples Joy, who seeing that fatal Virge the Ax (usually marshalling Traytors to the Bar) laid aside upon his freedom from the guilt of Treason; from *Westminster* Hall certified that part of the City by their loud festival Acclamations, of the gladson tidings of their Favourite's conceived Absolution. And these peradventure might be causes that his Execution was deferred.

Certain Bishops
deprived.

Hitherto had the Estate patiently endured the obstinate Opposition of some Bishops in point of Reformation, who for their *Non-conformity* are at length deprived, and others substituted in their Bishopricks. Of some of them we have occasionally already spoken, whose Censures notwithstanding fall in with this Year. *Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester* was deprived the fourteenth of *February*; *Day* of *Chichester*, and *Heath* of *Worcester* on the tenth of *October*; *Tonstall* of *Duresm* on the twentieth of *December* committed to the *Tower*; and *Boner* of *London* on the first of *October* 1549 had been already exautorated. All of them for fear of practising against the Estate were detained in Prison.

Some of the
Servants of
the Lady Mary
committed.

And on the last of *October* *Francis Inglefield*, *Walgrave*, and *Rochester* Servants to the Lady *Mary*, as also *Francis Mallet* Doctor of Divinity her Chaplain, were committed. I cannot speak any thing certain of the causes of any of their Imprisonments, excepting Doctor *Mallet's* only. At the Emperour's request he was permitted to celebrate Mass, but with this limitation, *In the presence of the Lady Mary, not otherwise*: for adventuring to Celebrate in her absence, it was thought fit he should be punished for his presumptuous Transgression. With the Lady her self all means had been used to conform her to the Times: the King himself had taken much pains with her by often suasive Letters, the Council had done the like, and personally to satisfy her with Reason, divers Learned men had been employed. But their labours were vain; for *hatred* to our Religion for her Mothers, for her own sake, and some *politick respects* (for by the Decrees of

of our Religion she was made Illegitimate, and consequently cut off from the Succession to the Crown, if he Brother should die Issueless) confirmed her in that Superstition which she had sucked from her Mother.

On the fourteenth of *April* one *George Paris* a German was at *London* burned for Arrianism.

On the five and twentieth of *May*, *Croydon* and seven or eight other Villages in *Surrey* were terribly shaken with an Earthquake.

Toward the beginning of *November*, *Mary Dowager* of *Scotland* arriving at *Portsmouth*, sent to the King and craved leave to pass through *England* into *Scotland*. Which being granted, and she invited to *London*, entred the City on the second of *November*, where her Entertainment was general and Royal. On the sixth of *November* she departed for *Scotland*, and had the Charges of her whole Retinue born until she arrived there in safety.

About the same time also the Earl of *Arundel* and the Lord *Paget* were (but for what causes is uncertain) committed to the *Tower*. In the ensuing *April* the Garter was taken from the Lord *Paget*, and conferred on the Earl of *Warwick* the Duke of *Northumberland's* eldest Son. As for the Earl of *Arundel* he was on the third of *December* in the next year set at liberty.

On the one and twentieth of *December* was the Lord *Rich* removed from the Chancellorship, and *Thomas Goodrich* Bishop of *Ely* made Lord Chancellor.

1551.

An Arrian burned.

An Earthquake.

The Queen of Scots in England.

The Earl of Arundel and the Lord Paget committed.

The Bishop of Ely Lord Chancellor.

ANNO DOM. 1552. REG. 6.

THE Duke of *Somerset* had now continued two Months in Prison since his Condemnation. At length the violence of his Enemies (notwithstanding the King's desire to save his Uncle, under whose Tuition he had passed his Childhood) drew him to the Scaffold. Being on the twenty fourth of *January* brought to the place of Execution, he in this manner bespake the Assembly:

Being by the Law condemned, I here willingly submit my self, by exemplary punishment to satisfy its Rigour. That God hath been pleased to grant me so long a Preparative to my End, I humbly thank his Eternal Goodness: But in that he hath been farther pleased to inspire me with the Knowledge of his Truth, and to make me an Instrument for the propagation of the same, I can never sufficiently magnifie his Mercies. In this do I rejoice, in this only do I triumph: beseeching him, that his Church in this Realm being now reformed according to the Institution of the antient Primitive, the Members thereof may conform their lives to the purity of its received Doctrine.

1552.

The Duke of Somerset beheaded.

More

1552.

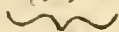
More he would have said, but a strange tumult and sudden consternation of the Assembly interrupted him. The People possessed with a Panick terror, as it were with an unanimous consent cried out, *Fly quickly, fly*: insomuch that of that infinite multitude which the expectation of the Duke's death had drawn together, as many as well could seeking to shift for themselves, many are troden to death, and others in the throng as unfortunately prest, the rest amazedly expect their own destruction, when their own fears were the greatest danger. The cause of their fears no man could certainly speak: one said he heard a terrible crack of Thunder; another the noise of a Troop of Horse: and some over credulous, according to the sway of their Affections, joyfully affirmed that Messengers were come with a Pardon for the Duke. But certain Halberdiers appointed to guard the Duke to the Scaffold; but coming tardy, and crying to their Fellows *Away, away*, were more probably the occasion of this Tumult. The true meaning of this amphibological word, which commandeth haste *to* and *from*, being mistaken, and withall a company of Armed men bending themselves (as was supposed) against the multitude, filled all with terrour and confusion. The affrighted People being at length with much ado pacified; the Duke intreating them for a while to contain themselves, that he might with a more settled mind depart out of this World; by Prayer commended his Soul to God, and then suffered with admirable constancy, neither by voice, gesture, nor countenance shewing himself any way dejected or moved at the apprehension of Death; unless peradventure you might take this for a token of fear, that when he covered his Eyes with his Handkerchief, his Cheeks had a little more tincture of red than usual.

That his Death was generally lamented is manifest. Many there were who kept Handkerchiefs dipped in his Blood, as so many sacred Relicks. Among the rest a spritful Dame two years after, when the Duke of *Northumberland* was led Captive through the City for his opposition against Queen *Mary*, ran to him in the streets, and shaking out her bloody Handkerchief before him, *Behold* (said she) *the Blood of that worthy man, that good Uncle of that excellent King, which shed by thy treacherous machination, now at this instant begins to revenge it self upon thee.* And Sir *Ralph Vane*, who on the twenty sixth of *February* was with Sir *Miles Partridge* hanged at the same place where the Duke had suffered, at what time also Sir *Michael Stanhop* and Sir *Thomas Arundell* were there beheaded, going to his Execution said, that *His Blood would make Northumberland's Pillow uneasie to him.* These four Knights being to be Executed, did each of them take God to witness, that they never practised any thing against the King nor any of his Council.

To return to the Duke, such was his End. As for his Life, he was a pious just man, very zealous in point of Reformation,
very

very solicitous of the King's safety, every way good, and careful of the Weal publick, only a little tainted with the Epidemick of those times, who thought it Religion to reform the Church, as well in its exuberancy of *Means*, as of superstitious *Ceremonies*, whereof not a few of our Cathedrals to this day complain.

1552.



Many Prodigies ensued his death, whereby many did presage the Calamities of succeeding times. In *August* six Dolphins (a Fish seldom seen in our Seas) were taken in the *Thames*, three near *Quinborough*, and three a little above *Greenwich*, where the Water is scarce tainted with the Seas brackishness. On the seventh day of *October* were three Whales cast up at *Gravesend*. And on the third of *August* at *Middleton* in *Oxfordshire* was born a Monster, such, as few either Naturalists or Historians write of the like. It had two Heads and two Bodies as far as the Navil distinct, where they were so conjoined that they both had but one way of egestion, and their Heads looking always contrary ways. The Legs and Thighs of the one did always ly at the trunk of the other. This (Female) Monster lived eighteen days, and might have longer peradventure, if it had not been so often opened to satisfy curiosity, that it took cold and died.

A Monster.

This year the Monastery of the *Franciscan* Friars in *London* was converted into a brave Hospital, wherein four hundred poor Boys are maintained, and have education befitting free-born men. It is at this day called *Christ-Church*.

In *Southwark* also was another like place provided for the relief of Poor sick persons, and is dedicated to the memory of *St. Thomas*.

ANNO DOM. 1553. REG. 7.

THIS year sets a period to young *Edward's* Reign, who by the defluxion of a sharp Rheum upon the Lungs shortly after became heftical; and died of a Consumption. Some attribute the cause of his sickness to Grief for the death of his Uncles; some to Poison, and that by a Noddy of sweet Flowers presented him as a great dainty on *New-years-day*. But what hopeful Prince was there ever (almost) immaturesly taken away, but Poison or some other treachery was imputed? Our deluded hopes being converted into grief, out of passion we bely Fate. Had there been the least suspicion of any such inhumane practice, Queen *Mary* would never have suffered it to have passed as an act of indifferency without an inquest. It was doubtless a posthumous rumour purposely raised to make the Great ones of that Reign distastful to the succeeding times. Howsoever it were, the Nobility understanding by the Physicians, that the King's estate was desperate, began every one to project his own ends. The Duke of *Northumberland* as he was more potent than rest, so did his ambition fly higher. It was somewhat

1553.

The King's sickness.

1553.

strange, that being not any way able to pretend but a shadow of Right to the Crown, he should dream of confirming the Succession of it in his Family. But he shall soar so high, that he shall singe his Wings, and fall no less dangerously than he whom the Poets feign to have aspired to a like unlawful Government. As for the Ladies *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, two obstacles to be removed, he doubted not by reasons drawn from their questionable Births to exclude them. The next regard must be of the Daughters of *Henry* the Seventh. But of the Queen of *Scots* (who was Niece to *Margaret* the eldest Daughter of *Henry* the Seventh) he was little solicitous: For by reason of our continual Enmity with the *Scots*, and thence inveterate Hatred, he imagined that any shew of Reason would put her by, especially she being contracted to the *French*, whose insolent Government he was confident the *English* would never brook. In the next place consideration is to be had of Lady *Frances* Daughter to *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk* by *Mary* Dowager of *France* the second Daughter of *Henry* the Seventh, who, her two Brothers then alive, had been married to *Henry Gray* Marquis of *Dorset*. The two Brothers (as before) dying of the late mortality, the Marquis is in the right of his Wife created Duke of *Suffolk*; and this was another stop to his Ambition. For the removal whereof he intends this course: He imparts his designs to the Duke of *Suffolk*, and desires that a Match may be concluded between the Lord *Guilford Dudley* his fourth Son, and Lady *Jane Grey* the Duke of *Suffolk's* eldest Daughter. And because, if only right of Inheritance should be pretended, the Duchess of *Suffolk* were in reason to be preferred before her Daughter, he undertakes to persuade the King not only to disinherit his Sisters by Will and Testament, but also by the same to declare the Lady *Jane* his next and immediate Successour. *Suffolk* biting at this bait, they complot by drawing the chiefest of the Nobility, to contract Affinity either with the one or the other to procure the general assent of them all. So on the same day that Lady *Jane* under an unhappy Planet was married to Lord *Guilford*, the Duke of *Suffolk's* two youngest Daughters are married, *Catharine* to Lord *Henry* eldest Son to the Earl of *Pembroke*, and crutch-backed *Mary* to *Martin Keyes* Groom Porter. *Northumberland's* eldest Daughter also named *Catharine* was married to the Lord *Hastings* eldest Son to the Earl of *Huntington*. These Marriages were in *June* Solemnized at *London*, the King at that time extremely languishing. Having thus brought these things to a desired pass, nothing now remained but to act his part with the weak King. To Him he inculcates, In what danger the estate of the Church would be, if He dying, provision were not first made of a pious Successour, and such a one as should maintain the now established Religion. How the Lady *Mary* stood affected was well known. Of the Lady *Elizabeth* there

1553.

there might be peradventure better hopes. But their causes were so strongly connexed, that either both must be excluded, or the Lady Mary be admitted. That is was the part of a Religious and Good Prince to set apart all respects of Blood, where God's Glory and the Subject's weal might be endangered. They that should do otherwise, were after this Life (which is short) to expect Revenge at God's dreadful Tribunal, where they are to undergo the tryal either of eternal Life or eternal Death. That the Duke of Suffolk, had three Daughters nearest to him in degrees of Blood; they were such as their Virtues and Birth did commend, and from whom the violation of Religion, or the danger of a Foreign yoke by any Match was not to be feared, forasmuch as their Education had been Religious, they had as it were with their Milk suckt in the Spiritual food of true Christian Doctrine, and were also matched to Husbands as zealous of the Truth as themselves; He could wish and would advise, that these might be successively called to the Crown, but with this caution, That they should maintain the now established Religion. And although Lady Jane the eldest of the three were married to his Son; he would be content that they should be bound by Oath to perform whatsoever his Majesty should decree: For he had not so much regard to his own as the general good.

These Reasons so prevailed with the young King; that he made his Will, and therein as much as in him lay, excluded both his Sisters from the Succession to the Crown, and all others whatsoever, beside the Duke of Suffolk's Daughters. This Will was read in presence of the Council and chief Judges of the Realm, and by each of them confirmed, with a strict command that no man should publish the contents of it, lest it might prove an occasion of Sedition and Civil Tumults. The Archbishop *Crammer* did for a while refuse to subscribe to it, not deeming it any way agreeable to equity, that the right of lawful Succession should upon any pretences be violated: But the King urging him, and making Religion a motive, which was otherwise likely to suffer, after a long disceptation he was at length drawn to assent. But these delays of his were so little regarded by Queen *Mary*, that under her scarce any man was sooner marked out for destruction. Some few days after these passages, on the sixth of July in the sixteenth year of his age King *Edward* at *Greenwich* surrendred his Soul to God, having under his Tutors reigned six years, five months, and nineteen days, and even in that tender age given great proof of his Virtue; a Prince of great Devotion, Constancy of Mind, Love of the Truth, and incredibly Studious; Virtues which with Royal Greatness seldom concur. Some three hours before his Death, not thinking any one had been present to over-hear him, he thus commended himself to God:

*His Will,
wherein he
disinheriteth
his Sisters.*

He dieth.

1553.

His Prayer.

O Lord God, free me I beseech thee out of this miserable and calamitous life, and receive me among the number of thine Elect, if so be it be thy pleasure: although not mine but thy will be done. To thee O Lord do I commend my Spirit. Thou knowest O Lord how happy I shall be, may I live with thee in Heaven: yet would I might live and be well for thine Elects sake, that I might faithfully serve thee. O Lord God, bless thy People, and save thine Inheritance. O Lord God, save thy People of England, defend this Kingdom from Popery, and preserve thy true Religion in it, that I and my People may bless thy most Holy Name for thy Son Jesus Christ.

Then opening his Eyes, which he had hitherto closed, and seeing Doctor Owen the Physician (from whose report we have this Prayer) sitting by, *Are you there?* (quoth he) *I had not thought you had been so near: who answered, I heard you speak, but could not collect your words: Indeed (replied the King) I was making my Prayer to God.* A little after, he suddenly cried out, *I faint, Lord have mercy upon me, and receive my Soul:* which words he had scarce spoken ere he departed. Much might be spoken in praise of this Prince, but regardful of my intended brevity, I will only give you a taste of him out of Cardan, who about a year before travelling through England toward Scotland, was admitted to his presence. The conference between them he thus describeth. *Ad-erant illi (speaking of the King) Gratia; Linguas enim multas callebat Puer, &c. He was stored with Graces; for being yet a Child he spake many Languages, his native English, Latin, French, and as I hear, was also skilled in the Greek, Italian, Spanish, and peradventure some others. He wanted neither the rudiments of Logick, the principles of Philosophy, nor Musick: He was full of Humanity the relish of Morality, of Gravity besitting Royalty, of hopes great as himself: A Child of so great wit and such Expectation could not be born, without a kind of Miracle in Nature. I write not this Rhetorically with the excess of an Hyperbole; for to speak all the truth were to speak far more. Being yet but in his fifteenth year, he spake Latin as readily and politely as I could. What (saith he) is the subject of your Books De Rerum Varietate? (I had dedicated them to his Majesty) Card. In the first Chapter I shew the long hidden and vainly sought after causes of Comets. King. And what is the cause? Card. The concurrence and meeting of the lights of the erratick Stars. King. But being the Planets are moved with several motions, how comes it to pass, that the Comet doth not either presently dissolve and scatter, or move with their motion? Card. It moves indeed, but with a far swifter motion than the Planets, by reason of the diversity of the aspect, as we see in Crystal and the Sun when a Rainbow rebound upon a wall, for a little change makes a great difference of the place. King. But how can that be done without a subject? for the wall is the subject to the Rainbow. Card. As in the Galaxia or Milky-way, and in the reflection of lights when many Candles lighted are set near one another, they*

do

Cardanus
Lib. de Geni-
curis.

do produce a certain lucid and bright mean. You may know the Lion by his paw, as they say. For his ingenuous nature and sweet conditions he was great in the expectation of all either good or learned men. He began to favour Learning before he could know it, and knew it before he knew what use to make of it. O how true is that saying,

Immodicis brevis est ætas, & rara senectus :

Immoderate growths short liv'd are, aged feld.

He could give you only a tast of his Virtue, not an example. When occasion required a Majestick gravity, you should see him act an old man; in his affability and mildness he shewed his age. He plaid on the Lute, accustomed himself to publick affairs, was liberally disposed, &c. So much Cardan. His Corps was on the ninth of August with no very great pomp interred at Westminster near to his Grandfather Henry the Seventh.

And here had I with this King's death concluded this Second Part, had not the consideration of a memorable Enterprize of this King's occurred. To Sebastian Cabota a Portugueze, for his admirable skill in Cosmography and the Art of Navigation, he allowed an Annuity of an hundred sixty six Pounds. Edward by this Cabota's perswasion on the twelfth of May set forth three Ships under Sir Hugh Willoughby for the discovery of unknown Regions in the North parts of the World. The main hope of this Voyage was, that way to open a shorter passage to those vast Countries of the East, Cathay and China. Near upon the Coast of Norway these Ships were so severed by Tempest, that they never met again. One of these great Ships terrified with the greatness of irresistible dangers, quickly returned home. Sir Hugh Willoughby arrived at last at a Countrey under the Latitude of seventy four degrees, not inhabited, hitherto to us unknown, and was forced to winter there, where he and all his Company were frozen to death. The Ship was afterward found by some the like English Adventurers, and in his Desk a writing relating the Adventures of each day, his Will also, by which it appeared that he lived until January. Richard Chancellor with the third Ship making a more prosperous Voyage, after many dangers and incertainties arrived at last among the Russes and Muscovites. To these parts some few years after he made a second Voyage; but in his return suffered wreck on the Scottish Coast, where seeking to save the Muscovite Ambassador, he himself was drowned. Howsoever he were unfortunate, he opened a rich Vein of Traffick to succeeding times, whereby we have an exact discovery of that Countrey, and of the Manners of those Heathen Christians.

1553.

Sir Hugh Willoughby frozen to death.

Commerce with the Muscovite.

F I N I S.

A N N A L S
O F
ENGLAND.
Q U E E N
M A R Y.

The Third Book.



L O N D O N,
Printed for Thomas Bassett, John Wright, and Richard Chiswel.
M. DC. LXXV.

У Н А М

July 1947



ANNALS OF ENGLAND.

BOOK III.

QUEEN MARY.

ANNO DOM. 1553. REG. I.

1553.



When the Lady *Mary*, long since acquainted with *Northumberland's* secret practices, was also certified of her Brother's decease; not thinking it safe to abide near *London*, where her Enemies were in their full strength; pretending a fear of the Plague by reason of the suspicious death of one of her Household, she suddenly departed from *St. Edmundsbury*, and came in one day to *Framingham* Castle in *Suffolk*, distant from *London* fourscore miles, and seated near the Sea, from whence if Fortune frowned on her, she might make an easie escape into *France*. Here she took upon her the Title of Queen, and by Letters to her Friends, and the Nobles, wished their speedy repair unto Her.

*Lady Mary
flies into
Suffolk.*

In the mean time *Northumberland* having for two days together consulted with his Friends concerning the managing of this great business, the King's death being not yet published, sent command to the Lord Mayor of *London*, to repair forthwith to *Greenwich* with six Aldermen, and twelve other Citizens of chiefest account. To them he declares the King's departure, and the seating of Lady *Jane* in the Throne of Sovereignty, shewing withal the King's Testament under Seal, which did import no less than the settling the Succession on her and that Family:

R r

He

1553.

Lady Jane
proclaimed
Queen.

He causeth them either by terrour or promises to swear Allegiance to Lady *Jane*, with command, and that under a great penalty, that they should not as yet divulge these secret passages. What a furtherance it might be to his Affairs if he could assure himself of this City, he was too wise to be ignorant of: And as for suppressing the report of the King's death; he thought it might prove a means to facilitate the surprisal of the Lady *Mary*, as yet probably secure for lack of notice of her Brother's decease. But understanding that she had made an escape into *Suffolk*, Lady *Jane* was by almost all the Peers of the Realm pompously conducted to the *Tower*, and with great Solemnity publicly proclaimed Queen. She was of age about sixteen, of feature not admirable but handsome, incredibly learned, very quick-witted, and wise both beyond her Sex and above her Age, wonderfully devoted to purity of Doctrine, and so far from desire of this Advancement, that she began not to act her part of Royalty without Tears, manifesting it to the World, that she was forced by her Parents and Friends ambition to this high but dangerous Ascent. At her going through the City toward the *Tower*, the Concourse of the People was great, their Acclamations few, as if the strangeness of some new Spectacle had drawn them together, rather than any intent of Gratulation. Which Queen *Maries* (for so we must henceforth call her) Friends hitherto distrustful more of Success than the Cause, accepted of as an happy omen, and were encouraged to assist her as occasion should invite them. But the presence of *Northumberland* a man quick, watchful, and very politick, was yet a remora to their Proceedings: Him they must send farther off, or be content to sit still.

The same day that Lady *Jane* entred the *Tower* Letters sent from Queen *Mary* are read openly at the Council Table, wherein she commands the Lords to repair to her, as being the next in Succession to the Crown, and that they at last should take example from the general Votes of the Kingdom, she being now every where acknowledged the lawful Sovereign. And indeed the *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* men were become hers; and the wiser sort did easily discern, that the affections of the People were hers. Wherefore it was thought at first expedient speedily to levy an Army, and that, while yet the Hearts of the People were free from any Impression, and their Minds yet equally poised in the Ballance of Irresolution, were either way to be swayed: By this course they might be peradventure too strong for the Queen, and preventing her Plea by Arms, force her to plead more necessarily for her Life. And an Army was raised, whereof the Duke of *Suffolk* was appointed General.

But the fautors of *Maries* Cause, whose main Project was to remove that grand obstacle the Duke of *Northumberland*, slyly insinuating

insinuating themselves with Lady *Jane*, perswaded her not to part with her Father, but to dispatch *Northumberland* for this Employment, the very terrour of whose Name (his late Victory over the *Norfolk* Rebels being yet fresh in memory) would effect more, than the other could either by Policy or Arms: And indeed to whose trust could a Daughter be better committed than to her Father's? As for the City, the Faith and wonted Wisdom of the Council now with her, would contain it in Obedience, and work it to her best Advantages. She poor Lady swayed with these Reasons, earnestly beseeched *Northumberland* himself to undergo this Burthen, who at length though unwillingly consented. His chief fear was, lest the advantage of his Absence might encourage opposite Practisers to raise some Tumults: But finding either excuses or absolute denials no way available, he prepares himself for this Expedition, and on the the thirteenth of *July* sets forth from *London*, with an Army of six thousand. At his departure it is reported he should say to the Lord *Gray of Wilton* who then accompanied him, *Do you see (my Lord) what a conflux of People here is drawn together to see us march? And yet of all this multitude, you hear not so much as one that wisheth us Success.* The *Londoners* stood very well affected in point of Religion, so did also for the most part the *Suffolk* and the *Norfolk* men, and they knew *Mary* to be absolute for Popery. But the *English* are in their due respects to their Prince so loyally constant, that no regards, no not pretext of Religion, can alienate their Affections from their lawful Sovereign, whereof the miserable case of Lady *Jane* will anon give a memorable Example. For although her Faction had laid a strong Foundation, and as may appear by the premisses, had most artificially raised their Superstructure; yet as soon as the true and undoubted Heir did but manifest her Resolution to vindicate her Right, this accurate Pile presently fell, and dissolved as it were in the twinkling of an Eye, and that chiefly by their endeavour, of whom for their Religions sake Lady *Jane* might have presumed her self assured. Neither were the People made any thing the more inclinable by publicly impugning Queen *Maries* Right in the Pulpit, a course wherein *Northumberland* engaged many a Preacher. Nay, even in the City of *London*, that learned and godly Prelate *Nicholas Ridley* upon the deprivation of *Boner* consecrated Bishop of *London* (who I wish had not erred in this matter) was scarce heard out with patience. As for Queen *Mary*, if that Rule of the Civilians be not true, that * *Matrimony contracted without any conceived Impediment, although it after chance to be dissolved as unlawful, is of such force, that the Children begotten in such wedlock are to be accounted lawful*: Yet why they should seek to exclude the Lady *Elizabeth*, I cannot but wonder, neither can I think that any probable reason therefore could be yielded by them, who deemed Queen *Mary* Illegitimate.

1553.

Northumberland forced to be General.

* *L. qui in provinciâ, sicut. Divus, ff. de Rer. Nupt. l. 4. C. de Incest. Nupt. & Gloss. ibid. C. cum inter. &c. ex tenore. Extr. qui fil. sunt legit.*

1553.

To let pass also in the mean time *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, to whom without doubt, the Issue of *Henry* the Eighth being extinct, the Crown properly belonged. Whatsoever the Reasons urged by these Preachers were, they were so far from making any impression in the minds of the People, that they every where flocked abundantly to Queen *Mary*: and this not out of a vulgar levity, many of the Nobility and other prime men having followed her Party even from the beginning; such were the Earls of *Bath* and *Sussex*, the Heirs of the Lords *Wharton* and *Mordant*, Sir *William Drury*, Sir *John Shelton*, Sir *Henry Bedingsfield*, Sir *Henry Fernegam*, *Sulierd*, *Freston*, and others. But above all Sir *Edward Hastings* Brother to the Earl of *Huntingdon* was most famous, who having Commission from the Duke of *Northumberland* to raise four thousand Foot, after he had levied them, revolted to Queen *Mary*: For which act she afterward created him Baron of *Lomborough*, honouring also Sir *John Williams* with another Barony, as a reward of his faithful Service. And Serjeant *Morgan* not coming short of these in his devoir, became afterward one of the chief Judges of the Realm.

But an unexpected Accident did most advantage Queen *Maries* Affairs. Six Ships had *Northumberland* set forth on that part of the Kingdom, where it is confined with the *German* Ocean, that he might intercept the Queen, if she sought to make an escape, and to have them ready for all occasions. These Ships were then by Tempest driven in at *Tarmouth*, when in the Town there was a Press of Souldiers for the Queen. The Mariners and Souldiers induced partly by threats, partly by intreaty, yield the Ships to Sir *Henry Fernegam* for Queen *Maries* use, and associate themselves with the new raised Companies. This was to her a matter of great consequence, and that such she deemed it, her joy well testified. And now encouraged with these accessions of Men, Ordnance, and Munition, she feared not *Northumberland*, and resolved not so much her own defence, as the speedy suppression of her Competitrix.

The Lords who had hitherto adhered to Lady *Jane* were somewhat terrified with this adverse accident. And the Queens Friends living at Court who had reserved themselves for opportunity, and were as yet concealed, were now so emboldened as to reveal themselves to each other, desiring nothing more than that being set at liberty (for yet the *Tower* was the Court) they might but gain entrance into the City, that they might more freely discover themselves. But they must either make the way, or be content to pray only for her, whom they could not otherwise advantage. It happened that *Northumberland* had written for more Aids. At his setting forth he was, besides his four Sons, accompanied with the Marquis of *Northampton*, the Earl of *Huntingdon*, the Lord *Gray*, and many other persons of note; and had
when

when he came to *Cambridge* an Army consisting of eight thousand Foot and two thousand Horse. Removing thence toward *St. Edmondsbury*, he found that many of his Souldiers had forsaken their Colours, and was wonderfully jealous lest of the remainder many would do the like. Wherefore returning to *Cambridge*, he plied the Lords of the Council with continual demands of supplies to fill his Companies grown thin by the departure of so many fugitives. The Lords that favoured *Maries* Cause laying hold on this occasion, obsequiously tending their Services for the furtherance of the Duke's designs, decree speedy Aids for him; but pretend, that it were dangerous to employ any other in these Levies, than such of whose Loyalty they might rest assured, lest the like Treachery might be committed as had been already by *Sir Edward Hastings*; and proffer themselves for the execution of this Affair. So by the Duke of *Suffolk* his permission they all let loose as it were out of Prison, disperse themselves over the City. The chiefeft of them that were resolved for the Queen, were the Marquis of *Winchester* Lord Treasurer, the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Earl of *Arundell* (whom after a years Imprisonment with the Lord *Paget*, the Duke of *Northumberland* had lately set at liberty) and *Sir Thomas Cheyney* Lord Warden of the *Cinque Ports*. By the industry of these, as many of the Lords of the Council as were within call (excepting the Duke of *Suffolk*) and as many other of the Nobility as were known to be at least not Enemies to Queen *Maries* Cause, had a meeting at *Baynards-Castle*, under pretence of conference with the *French* Ambassador *Lavall*, about I know not what important business: But indeed to consult of a mean how to reduce Lady *Jane* to her first original of a Private fortune. There *Henry* Earl of *Arundell* bitterly inveighing against the Duke of *Northumberland*, after he had ripped up the Acts of former times, and burthened him with all that had been done unjustly, cruelly, or amiss in the Reign of King *Edward*; he at last comes to that treacherous act of the Disherison of the Children of *Henry* the Eighth, professing that *He wondred how he had so enthralled such Personages* (intimating those Nobles present) *as to make them Instruments of his wickedness: For by their consent and suffrages it came to pass, that the Duke of Suffolk's Daughter, the same Northumberland's Daughter-in-Law, did now personate a Queen, the gross and power of Sovereignty remaining indeed with Northumberland, that he might freely wreak his Tyranny on their Lives and Fortunes. Religion is indeed the thing pretended: But suppose we have no regard to these Apostolical Rules, Evil must not be done that good may come thereof, and We must obey even evil Princes not for fear, but for conscience sake; yet how doth it appear that Mary intends any alteration in Religion? Certainly having been lately Petitioned unto in this point by the Suffolk men, she gave them (and that was true) a very hopeful answer. And what a mad blindness*

1553.

Northumberland forsaken by his Souldiers.

it

1553.

The Lords resolve for
Queen Mary,

And to suppress
Lady Jane.

Northumberland pro-
claims Mary
Queen at
Cambridge.

it is, for the avoidance of an uncertain Danger, to precipitate our selves into most certain Destruction? I would we had not erred in this kind. But Errours past cannot be recalled, some may peradventure be amended, wherein speedy execution oftentimes happily supplieth former defects. Recollect your selves then, and so make use of your Authority, that Mary the undoubtedly lawful Heir may be publicly Proclaimed. After he had spoken to this purpose, the Earl of Pembroke readily and generously professed that he subscribed to the Earl of Arundell's motion, and grasping his Sword, signified his Resolution to maintain the Right of Mary against all Opposers. The rest take after them, and decree the same. So commanding the repair of the Lord Mayor and the rest of the Aldermen, they in Cheapside proclaim Lady Mary Queen, with addition also of the Title of *Supreme Head of the Church*. And to add more majesty to their act by some devout Solemnity, they go in Procession to *Pauls* singing that admirable Hymn of those holy Fathers St. *Ambrose* and St. *Augustine*, commonly known by its first words, *Te Deum*. Then they dispatcht away some Companies to seize on the Tower, and command the Duke of *Suffolk* to render himself. The Duke as easily dejected at the news, as he had formerly been elevated by vain hope, entring his Daughters Chamber, forbad the farther use of Royal Ceremonies, wishing her to be content with her return to a Private fortune. Whereto she answered with a settled countenance: *Sir, I better brook this message, than my forced advancement to Royalty; out of obedience to you and my Mother I have grievously sinned, and offered violence to my self: Now I do willingly, and as obeying the motions of my Soul, relinquish the Crown, and endeavour to salve those faults committed by others, if at least so great an error may be salved by a willing relinquishment and ingenuous acknowledgement.* Having spoken thus much, she retired into a withdrawing-room, more troubled at the Danger she had incurred, than the defeasance of so great hopes. The Duke himself presently repaired to the rest of the Council, and subscribed to their Decree. This Proclamation was on the nineteenth of July published, and entertained with such Acclamations, that no part of it could be heard, after the first mention of *Queen Maries* Name. The Earl of *Arundell* and the Lord *Paget* having thus ordered this weighty Affair, accompanied with thirty Horse, rid post that night unto the Queen, to certifie her of the gladson tidings of her Subjects loyal intentions.

In the mean time the Lords of the Council certifie *Northumberland* of these Passages, commanding him withal to subscribe to the Decree, and dismiss his Army. But he out of the Presage of his own Fortune had before the receipt of their Letters proclaimed her Queen at *Cambridge*, where in a counterfeit joy he threw up his Cap with the sincerer multitude. Then he cashiered the rest of his wavering Companies, and almost all the
Lords,

Lords, who had hitherto followed him; with a Legal Revolt passing over to the Queen, and making *Northumberland* the sole author and cause of these disloyal Distractions, were upon their Submission pardoned.

1553.

Lady *Jane*, having as on a Stage for ten days only personated a Queen, was committed to safe custody, and the Ladies who had hitherto attended her, were commanded each to their homes. The Duke of *Northumberland* was by the Queens command apprehended by the Earl of *Arundell*, and committed to the *Tower*. The manner of his taking is reported to have been thus: After so many checks uncertain what course to take, resolved to flie, but not knowing whether, the Pensioners (who with their Captain *Sir John Gates* had followed him in this Expedition) while he was pulling on his Boots seised on him, saying, that *It was fit they should excuse themselves from the imputation of Treason by his testimony*. The Duke withstanding them, and the matter being likely to grow to blows, at the very instant came those Letters from the Council, which commanded them all to lay aside their Arms, and peaceably to repair to their homes. These Letters took up the matter, and set the Duke at liberty, which notwithstanding lasted not long. For the next morning, as he was ready to take Horse, the Earl of *Arundell* intercepted him, and with him apprehended the Earl of *Huntingdon*, the Earl of *Warwick* *Northumberland's* eldest Son, and two others younger Lord *Ambrose* and Lord *Henry Dudley*, *Sir Andrew Dudley* the Duke's Brother, *Sir Thomas Palmer*, *Sir John Gates*, his Brother *Henry Gates* and Doctor *Edwin Sands*, who on the five and twentieth of *July* were brought to *London*, and presently committed to the *Tower*. The Earl of *Huntingdon* was, not long after, set at liberty, but his Son was presently. *Sir John Gates*, whom *Northumberland* accused to have been the contriver of all this mischief, and *Sir Thomas Palmer* were after Executed. The Earl of *Warwick* died in Prison. The Lords *Ambrose* and *Henry Dudley* were Pardoned. *Henry* was afterward slain with a shot at the Siege of *St. Quintin*; but *Ambrose* finding Fortune more propitious, outlived *Mary*, and by Queen *Elizabeth* created Earl of *Warwick*, long flourished in the happiness of her Favour. *Sir Andrew Dudley* after his Condemnation was also Pardoned. Doctor *Sands* being then Vicechancellour of the University of *Cambridge* had by *Northumberland's* command in the Pulpit publicly impugned Queen *Maries* Cause, and defended that of Lady *Jane*; but with that Wisdom and Moderation, although upon the short warning of some few hours, that he abundantly satisfied the Duke, and yet did not so deeply incur the displeasure of the adverse part, but that his Friends prevailed with the Queen for his Pardon. So that after a years Imprisonment he was set at liberty, and presently fled over into *Germany*: After the death of Queen *Mary*
returning

Northumberland, and some other Lords taken.

1553.

returning from his voluntary Exile, he was Consecrated Bishop of *Worcester*, from which See he was translated to *London*, and thence again to the Archbishoprick of *York*: A man for his Learning, Virtue, Wisdom, and Extract very famous, but most especially happy in his Issue, whereof many were admirable for their Endowments both internal and external, and of whom we have in our Age seen three honoured with Knighthood.

On the six and twentieth of *July*, the Marquis of *Northampton* (afterward Condemned, and Pardoned) Doctor *Ridley* Bishop of *London*, (who two years after was Burned at *Oxford*) and beside many others, Lord *Robert Dudley* that great Earl of *Leicester* under Queen *Elizabeth*, were brought to the *Tower*. On the seven and twentieth, the Duke of *Suffolk* (to whom the Queen with admirable Clemency within four days restored his liberty) Sir *John Cheeke* King *Edward's* Schoolmaster, Sir *Roger Cholmley* Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and Sir *Edmond Mountague* Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, were committed to the same place, who were all on the third of *September* set at liberty.

On the thirtieth of *July* the Lady *Elizabeth* accompanied by a great train of Nobles, Knights, Gentlemen and Ladies (to the number of five hundred, some say a thousand) set forward from the *Strand* through *London*, and so to *Wansted*, towards the Queen to congratulate her happy Success in vindicating her Right to the Crown. Who on the third of *August* having dismissed her Army (which had not yet exceeded the number of thirteen thousand) attended by all the Nobility made a triumphant entrance through *London* to the *Tower*, where the Duke of *Norfolk*, *Edward Courtney* Son to the Marquis of *Exceter* Beheaded in the year 1538, *Gardiner* late Bishop of *Winchester*, and *Anne Duchels* of *Somerset* presented themselves on their Knees, and *Gardiner* in the name of them all spake a congratulatory Oration, which ended, the Queen courteously raised them, and kissing each of them said, *These are all my own Prisoners*, and gave order for their present discharge. *Edward Courtney* she restored to his Father's honours, making him Marquis of *Exceter*. As for *Gardiner*, she not only resealed him in the Bishoprick of *Winchester*, but also on the three and twentieth of *August* made him Lord Chancellor of *England*, notwithstanding that he had not only Subscribed to the Divorce from *Catharine* the Queens Mother, but had Published Books, wherein he had defended King *Henry's* proceedings.

On the fifth of *August*, *Boner* and *Tonstall* who had been formerly deprived of their Bishopricks, the one of *London*, the other of *Duresm*, and shortly after *Day* of *Chichester*, and *Heath* of *Worcester* were enlarged and restored to their Bishopricks, the present Incumbents being without due process of Law ejected.

On the tenth of *August*, were celebrated the Exequies of King *Edward*, *Day* Bishop of *Chichester* Preaching, executing in *Englisb*,
and

Queen Mary
comes to Lon-
don.

Gardiner made
Lord Chancel-
lour.

Deprived Bi-
shops restored.

King Ed-
ward's Fune-
ral.

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and administering the Sacrament according to the manner and form received in the Reign of *Edward*. For as yet nothing had been determined concerning any change in point of Religion. So that when *Bourn* a Canon of *Pauls* (afterward Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*) Preaching at the *Cross*, did inveigh against the Reformation in King *Edward's* time, and did in upbraiding manner argue the Injustice of those times, which condemned *Boner* to perpetual Imprisonment for matter delivered by him in that place that time four year, who was now by a more just Clemency restored to his Liberty and Dignity: The People inured to the Protestant Religion; could hardly abstain from stoning him, and one of them aiming a Poinyard at him, missed him very narrowly: The affections of the Assembly may by this be conceived, that during the Reign of Queen *Mary*, the Author of this bold attempt, notwithstanding the diligence of earnest Inquisitors; could never be discovered. The uproar increasing; and divers pressing toward the Pulpit, *Bourn* protected by two Protestant Preachers (*Bradford* and *Rogers*, who were greatly Reverenced by the People, and afterward Burned for their Religion) was with great difficulty conveyed to the School at *Pauls*.

And now at length on the eighteenth of *August*, the Duke of *Norfolk* sitting as High Steward of *England*, were the Duke of *Northumberland*, his Son the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Marquis of *Northampton* Arraigned at *Westminster*: where the Duke of *Northumberland* pleading, that he had done nothing but by authority of the Council, his Plea being not admitted for sufficient, he was condemned of High Treason. The Sentence being pronounced, he craved the favour of such a Death as was usually executed on Noblemen, and not the other: He beseeched also, that a favourable regard might be had of his Children, in respect of their age: Thirdly, that he might be permitted to confer with some learned Divine for the settling of his Conscience: And lastly, that her Majesty would be pleased to send unto him four of her Council for the discovery of some things, which might concern the Estate. The Marquis of *Northampton* pleaded to his Indictment, that after the beginning of these Tumults he had forborn the Execution of any Publick Office, and that all that while, intent to Hunting and other sports, he did not partake in the Conspiracy: But it being manifest, that he was party with the Duke of *Northumberland*, Sentence passed on him likewise. The Earl of *Warwick* finding that the Judges in so great a Cause admitted not excuse of Age, with great resolution heard his Condemnation pronounced, craving only this favour, that, whereas the Goods of those who were condemned for Treason, are totally Confiscated, yet her Majesty would be pleased, that out of them his Debts might be discharged. After this, they were all again returned to the *Tower*. The next day Sir *Andrew Dudley*,

The Duke of
Northumber-
land, the Earl
of Warwick,
and the Mar-
quis of Nor-
thampton con-
demned.

1553.

The Duke of
Northumber-
land Beheaded.

Sir *John Gates* (who was thought in *Northumberland's* favour to have projected the Adoption of Lady *Jane*) Sir *Henry Gates*, and Sir *Thomas Palmer* were likewise condemned. On the two and twentieth of the same month, the Duke with the rest (having two days before received the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper) were conducted to the place of Execution: Where *Northumberland* (saith that excellent Historiographer, *Thuanus*) by the perswasion of *Nicholas Heath* (afterward Bishop of *York*) making his own Funeral Oration to the People, acknowledged himself guilty, and craving pardon for his unseasonable Ambition, admonished the Assembly, That they should embrace the Religion of their Forefathers rejecting that of later date, which had occasioned all the Miseries of the fore-passed thirty years: And for prevention for the future, if they desired to present their Souls unspotted to God, and were truly affected to their Countrey, they should expel those Trumpets of Sedition, the Preachers of the Reformed Religion. As for himself, whatsoever he might pretend, his Conscience was fraught with the Religion of his Fathers, and for testimony hereof he appealed to his great Friend the Bishop of Winchester: but being blinded with Ambition, he had been contented to make wrack of his Conscience by temporizing, for which he professed himself sincerely repentant, and acknowledged the desert of his death. Having spoken thus much, he craved the charitable Devotions of the Assembly, and commending his Soul to God, prepared his Body for the stroke of Ax. This Recantation did variously affect the minds of the multitude, who wondered that he should at last Apostatize from that Religion which he had for sixteen years professed, and in favour whereof chiefly, he perswaded King *Edward* to endeavour the exclusion of his Sisters from their lawful Succession. Some write, that being desirous of life, he did it craftily out of hope of impunity: but that hope being frustrated, to have repented it afterwards. He was suspected (neither were the presumptions small) to have administered a Poisonous potion to King *Edward*: but in his Indictment there was no mention of it, and that the rather, for that the Judges had authority only to inflict Punishment on him for his Conspiracy against the Queen. At the same time and place were also Executed Sir *John Gates* and Sir *Thomas Palmer*.

Bishops imprisoned.

Many Bishops also, who were thought to have been too too opinionate in point of Religion, were sent for to *London*, and there Imprisoned, viz. *Hopper* of *Glocester*, *Farrar* of *St. Davies* (who were both crowned with Martyrdom) and *Coverdale* of *Exceter*, who at the request of *Christiern* the Third King of *Denmark* was Pardoned. But the Clergy of what rank soever, who would not forsake their Wives, or were invested in Livings, whereof any one had been for defence of Popery deprived, or that would not by Oath promise the defence of the *Romish* Religion, were generally forced to relinquish their Benefices.

Peter

Peter Martyr was then Professor at *Oxford*, who presently upon the Death of King *Edward*, was confined to his House. But after some time his Friends so far prevailed, that he might come to *London*, where he betook himself to his Patron the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. But he could not prove a Sanctuary to him. The Archbishop himself began now to totter. The Queen, beside that she was wholly swayed by *Gardiner*, who extremely hated him, had resolved to wreak her self on him for the Divorce of her Mother.

——— *Manet alta mente repositum*
Judicium latum, spreteque injuria Matris.

It is reported, that King *Henry* having determined to punish his Daughter the Lady *Mary* with Imprisonment for her Contumacy, was by the sole intercession of *Cranmer* diverted from his Resolutions: And when she was by her Brother King *Edward* to be disinherited, the Archbishop made a long suasive Oration to the contrary; neither could he be induced to subscribe to the Decree, until the Judges of the Realm generally affirming, that it might lawfully be done, the dying King with much importunity prevailed with him. In ingrateful persons the conceit (I will not say the feeling) of one Injury makes deeper impression, than can the remembrance of a thousand real Benefits. It was now bruited, that with his Fortune *Cranmer* had also changed his Religion; insomuch that to gratifie the Queen, he had promised to Celebrate the Exequies of the deceased King after the *Romish* manner. To clear himself of this imputation, he by writing declares himself ready to maintain the Articles of Religion set forth by his means under King *Edward* his Reign, to be consonant to the Word of God and the Doctrine of the Apostles: in which Resolution he being confirmed by *Peter Martyr*, required him for his Second in this Religious Duel. But Words are not regarded, where Violence is intended. His Death was absolutely determined; but how it might be fairly contrived, was not yet resolved. First therefore they deal with him as a Traytor. And having for some while continued prisoner in the *Tower*, to alienate the minds of the People who held him in high esteem, he is on the thirteenth of *November* together with the Lords *Ambrose* and *Guilford Dudley*, and Lady *Jane*, condemned for Treason. But the machinators of this mischief against *Cranmer* were so ashamed of their shadowless endeavour, that they themselves became Intercessors for his Pardon, and yet afterwards most irreligiously procured him to be Burned for pretended Heresie. Before he was committed to Custody, his Friends perswaded him, after the example of some other of his religious Brethren, who had long since escaped into *Germany*, by flight to withdraw himself from assured destruction: To whom he answered; *were I accused of Theft, Parricide, or*

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Peter Ma

The Archbishop
Cranmer,
Lady Jane,
Lord Guilford
and Lord Ambrose Dudley
condemned.

1553.

some other crime, although I were innocent, I might peradventure be induced to shift for my self: But being questioned for my Allegiance not to men, but to God, the truth of whose holy word is to be asserted against the errours of Popery; I have at this time, with a constancy befitting a Christian Prelate, resolved rather to leave my life, than the Kingdom. But we will now leave Cranmer in Prison, whose farther Troubles and Martyrdom we will in their due places relate. Concerning *Peter Martyr*, it was long controverted at the Council Table whether, having so much prejudiced the Catholick Religion, it were fit he should be proceeded against as an Heretick. But it was at length determined, that because he came into *England* upon Publick Assurance, he should have liberty to depart with his Family. So having Letters of Pass signed by the Queen, he was transported with his Friend *Bernardine Ochinus*, and came to *Antwerp*, from thence to *Colen*, at last to *Straßburg*, from whence he first set forth for *England*.

The Coronation.

In the mean time on the first of *October*, the Queen was with great pomp Crowned at *Westminster* by *Stephen Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, and that after the manner of her Ancestors.

A Disputation
in the Convocation-House.

On the fifth of the same month a Parliament is called at *Westminster*, wherein all the Laws Enacted against the Pope and his adherents by *Henry* and *Edward*, were repealed. And in the Convocation-House at the same time was a long and eager Disputation concerning the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, the Prolocutor *Dr. Weston* with many others maintaining *Christ's* Corporal real presence in the Sacrament: Among those few who sided with the Truth, were *John Ailmer* and *Richard Cheyney* (both by Queen *Elizabeth* made Bishops, the one of *London*, the other of *Glocester*) *John Philpot* Archdeacon of *Winchester*, who confirmed this Doctrine with the Testimony of his Blood, *James Haddon* Dean of *Exeter*, and *Walter Philips* Dean of *Rochester*. At length the Truth was oppressed by Multitude not Reason. Whereupon the Restitution of *Romish* Rites is again concluded, and on the one and twentieth of *December*, Mass began to be celebrated throughout *England*.

Popery restored.

The same day also the Marquis of *Northampton* and Sir *Henry Gates* not long since Condemned, were set at liberty and Pardoned: And the Lords *Ambrose* and *Guilford Dudley* with Lady *Jane* had their Imprisonment more at large, with hope of Pardon also.

ANNO DOM. 1554. REG. I, & 2.

1554.

The Queen inclines to marry.

THE Queen, who was now Thirty seven years old, and hitherto thought averse from Marriage, either in regard of her own Natural inclination, or conscious to her self of the want of such Beauty as might endear a Husband to her, her Affairs so

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so requiring, began at length to bethink her of an Husband. She feared, lest the consideration of her Sexes imbecility might bring her into contempt with her People, she being yet scarce settled in her Throne, and the Kingdom still distracted in their Affections to several Competitors. Fame had destined three for her Bed, *Philip* Infant of *Spain* the Emperour's Son, *Cardinal Pool*, and the Marquis of *Exceter*. The two last were proposed for their Royal Descent, and the opinion of the Love of their Countrey, there being hope, that under them the Freedom, and the Priviledges of the Kingdom might be preserved inviolate. But besides proximity of Blood in each of the three, *Cardinal Pool* was much affected by the Queen, for his gravity, sanctimony, meekness, and wisdom, *Courtney* for his flourishing youth, his courteous and pleasant disposition. But he I know not how, was somewhat suspected, not to think sincerely of the late established Religion, but to have favoured the Reformed. And the Cardinal being now in his fiftieth and third year, was deemed a little too old to be a Father of Children. But their opinion prevailed, as more necessary, who thought this unsettled Kingdom would require a puissant King, who should be able to curb the factious Subject, and by Sea and Land oppose the *French* by the accrue of *Scotland* become too near Neighbours and Enemies to us. Upon these motives the ambitious Lady was easily induced to consent to a match with *Philip*. For the Treaty whereof the Emperour had about the end of the last year, sent on a grand Embassage *Lamoralle Count Egmond*, with whom *Charles Count Lalaine*, and *John Montmorency* were joyned in Commission. In *January* the Ambassadors arrived at *London*, and in a few days conclude the Marriage, the Conditions whereof were these:

That Matrimony being contracted between Philip and Mary, it should be lawful for Philip to usurp the Titles of all the Kingdoms and Provinces belonging to his Wife, and should be joynt-Governour with her over those Kingdoms, the Priviledges and Customs thereof always preserved inviolate, and the full and free distribution of Bishopricks, Benefices, Favours, Offices always remaining entire to the Queen. That the Queen likewise should be assumed into the society of all the Realms, wherein Philip either then was, or should be afterward invested. That if She survived Philip, sixty thousand Pounds per annum, should be assigned for her Joynture, as had been formerly assigned to Lady Margaret Sister to Edward the Fourth and Widow to Charles Duke of Burgoigne, whereof forty thousand should be raised out of Spain and Arragon; twenty thousand out of the Netherlands and the Provinces thereto belonging. And to prevent all future Fars and Contentions about the Division of the Inheritance of the Kingdoms and Provinces which either then were or afterward should be belonging to either, it is agreed, That the Issue begotten by this Marriage should

*The Articles of
the Queens
Marriage
with Philip
of Spain.*

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should succeed in all the Queens Kingdoms and Dominions, and in all the Principalities of the Netherlands and Burgoigne, whereof the Emperour did stand possessed: That Charles the eldest Son to Philip by a former Marriage should likewise succeed in all the Kingdoms as well of his Father, as of his Grandmother, and his Grandfather the Emperour, both in Italy and Spain, and by reason thereof should stand obliged for the Payment of the fore-mentioned forty thousand Pounds. If by this Matrimony no other Issue shall be begotten than Female, the Eldest shall succeed in all the Provinces of the Netherlands, but with this Caution, that by the counsel and consent of her Brother Charles, she shall make choice of an Husband either out of England or the Netherlands; if she marry from elsewhere without his consent, she shall be deprived of her right of Succession, and Charles be invested therein. But to her and her Sisters a convenient Dowry shall be assigned according to the Laws and Customs of the places. If it happen that Charles, or his Successours shall die without Issue; in that case the First-born by this Marriage, although it be a Female, shall succeed in all the Kingdoms belonging to both these Princes, as well of the Netherlands, as of Spain, and in all the Principalities of Italy; and shall be bound to preserve inviolate all the Laws, Priviledges, Immunities and Customs of each Kingdom. Between the Emperour, Philip, and his Heirs, between the Queen, and her Children and Heirs, and between both their Realms and Dominions, constant Amity, Concord, a perpetual and inviolable League shall be continued. This League, Agreement, and Articles shall be renewed and confirmed at Westminster the two and fortieth year of this * Seculum, and four years after on the sixteenth of January at Utrecht.

* Which, as I conceive, would have fallen in the year 1588.

As soon as the Decree concerning these Nuptial Compacts was divulged, many out of a restless disposition misliking the present times, but especially traducing the intent of this Accord, as if by it the Spaniard were to become absolute Lord of all, who should have the free managing of all Affairs, and abolishing our ancient Laws and Customs, would impose an intolerable yolk, as on a conquered Nation. This was the general conceit of this Action. But in private, every one according to their divers humours did mutter diversly: Some censuring the Queens actions, others complaining of the change of Religion contrary to her promise made to the *Suffolk* men: Some lamented the case of Lady Jane, who had been forcibly deposed, and cruelly condemned to an ill-deserved Death. Some were swayed by pity, some by the regard of Religion, but most by the fear of a *Spanish* Servitude: And others were by their own hopes and the desire of change animated to a Rebellion. A Chieftain only was wanting, which defect was quickly supplied by Sir Thomas Wyatt a Knight of *Kent*. Who having communicated the matter with the Duke of *Suffolk*, Sir Peter Carow of *Devonshire*, and some others, concluded that it would not be expedient to attempt any thing until the

Sir Thomas Wyatt's Rebellion.

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the arrival of *Philip*, that so they might not seem to have taken Arms to any other end, than to secure their Countrey from the Usurpation of a Foreign Prince. So reserving themselves for opportunity, they disperse themselves into several places: *Wyat* into *Kent* a Countrey adjoyning to *London*, and disjoyned from *Calais* by a little fret of Sea; *Sir Peter Carow* into *Devonshire*, a part of *England* in the West opposite to the main of *France*; and the Duke of *Suffolk* withdrew himself to his Place in *Warwickshire*, situated in the very heart of the Realm. In these several places, they secretly furnish themselves with Arms, Money, and all sorts of Munition, and seek to draw others to partake in the Conspiracy. *Sir Peter Carow*, whether thrust on by his Fate, or thinking delay would prove dangerous, began secretly to levy some Forces in *Cornwall*, but the matter being sooner detected than was hoped, and he quickly oppressed, he presently took Ship, and fled into *France*, where he lurked some time, until at length being seemingly reconciled to the King, he was taken at *Brussels*, and brought Captive into *England*. By what means he afterward made an escape I know not. But he flourished many years under Queen *Elizabeth*, and died at *Rosse* in *Leinster* a Province of *Ireland* in the year 1577, as appeareth by his Monument in the Cathedral Church at *Exceter* erected at the costs of his Nephew *Peter*, who was Brother to *George*, whom King *James* for his many Virtues not long since created a Baron.

With *Sir Peter* at the same time *Sir John Cheeke*, who had been King *Edward's* Tutour, was also taken, who came from *Strasburg* towards *Brussels*, and that not without Publick Licence, upon no other business, but to visit (as saith *Fox*) the Queens Agents there, or rather according to *Thuanus*, to marry a Wife. Whatsoever were the cause of his Journey, certain it is that he was intercepted, on the way from *Antwerp* to *Brussels* unhorsed by some of the Queens Servants, and tied with Cords to a Cart, at last muffled, carried on shipboard, and conveyed to the *Tower* at *London*, not knowing all the way for what part of the World he was bound. There, having always in Conscience abhorred the Errours of Popery, he was forced to Abjure his Religion, for which he afterward became so repentant, that out of extremity of Grief he languished, and shortly died. These passages I do the more exactly describe, because there want not some, who relate, that both *Sir Peter Carow* and *Sir John Cheeke* for their Religion suffered at a Stake on the thirteenth of *June* this present year.

Sir John Cheeke is taken, and dieth.

But to return to *Wyat*; he perceiving that his intents were divulged, and that he had nothing to trust to, no refuge but Valour; incited the People in *Kent* to a Rebellion, and (as Rebels never want common pretexts to colour their actions) that,

Because the Queen relying too much upon the Advice of bad Counsellors, had lately done, and did daily endeavour many things prejudicial

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to the Estate of the Realm: That therefore to prevent farther inconveniences, those Counsellors must be removed, and others substituted, who should so manage the Estate, as should answer the Trust reposed in such men, whose Loyalty should render them more careful of the Publick, than their Private Profit. But above all they must endeavour, that some means must be used to impeach this determined Match, by which he plainly foresaw this free Realm would be oppressed with the miseries of a most lamentable Servitude; and a flood-gate would be opened to let in a perpetual current of Superstition: That the effects of their Arms would prove very profitable to the Queen (for whose happiness he should ever pray) and to the general good of the Kingdom.

But howsoever he fed the giddy multitude with specious words, the Duke of *Sussex* at that time running the same course in *Warwickshire*, it was palpable, that their drift was to Depose *Mary*, and once more to Enthroned Captive *Jane*.

By the five and twentieth of *January*, Fame had filled *London* with the news of this *Kentish* Rebellion. For the repression whereof, the Duke of *Norfolk* was the same day dispatched with some small Forces, consisting for the most part of the Queens Guard, which were a little increased by the accession of five hundred *Londoners*, who were the next day sent down by Water to *Gravesend*, where the Duke expected them. With these he resolves to encounter *Wiat*, whom his madness had not yet carried beyond *Rochester*, which (notwithstanding its weakness, being no way fortified) he intended to make good against the Duke, and had encamped within the ruins of the Castle.

Rochester is a City seated upon the River *Medway*, where falling into the *Thames* it is most violent, ebbing and flowing like a Streight, and is made passable by an arched stone Bridge of excellent artifice. This Bridge had the Rebels seized, and planted on it some brass double Cannons, that they might debar the Duke (whom they understood by their Scouts to be upon march) of passage. But he nothing daunted with their proceedings sent a Herald to proclaim Pardon to such as forsaking *Wiat*, should return to their Obedience; resolving withal to force the Bridge and gain entrance into the City. The Herald executed his office, but with so submissive a voice, that he was heard by few (for indeed a Pistol held at his Breast so terrified him, that he was content for his own safety to yield to the Rebels so commanding) and was returned with this answer, that they knew not themselves to be so far Delinquent, as that they should need any such Pardon. Only *Sir George Harper* feigning a Revolt, made over toward the Duke of *Norfolk*, but indeed with intent to persuade *Alexander Bret* Captain of those five hundred *Londoners*, to partake in this Action of common Disloyalty. Which he performed so effectually, that *Bret*, whose Company made the Vauntguard, before he came so near the Bridge as to give an assault, suddenly drawing

Bret with five hundred Londoners revolts to Wiat.

drawing his Sword turned about to his Souldiers, and thus bespake them:

Valiant Countrey-men, we now engage our selves in a Cause, which before we farther proceed, would require mature Deliberation. we march, but against whom? Are they not our Friends; our fellow-natives, with whom we seek to make a deeper mixture of our Bloods? Have they not taken Arms for the preservation of the ancient glory of the English name, and to vindicate our common Liberties against the Insolencies of the cruel Spaniard? You whose degenerate Spirits can brook the indignities of Servitude, continue in God's name with your brave General, who without doubt will deserve the service of such worthies: As for me (who had rather undergo many the most torturing Deaths, than betray my liberty to the Spaniard) I here (happy and prosperous may it prove) enrol my self under Wyat's Colours, and am confident that some of you out of Affection to your Countrey will follow my example.

He had scarce spoken thus much, when they all crying out a *Wyat*, a *Wyat*, turned the Cannon against their fellows, who followed in the Rere. Which unexpected Revolt so terrified the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Arundell*, and Sir *Henry Jerneham* Captain of the Guard, who followed the Duke in this Expedition, that they instantly betook themselves to flight. The remainder of that small Army prepared themselves according to the example of their Commanders, when *Wyat* with some Horse intercepted their flight, and seized on eight Brass Peeeces with all the Duke's Munition: Then used he some perswasions to pervert their Loyalty, professing withal, that *If any one would be an Instrument of his own Misery by assisting the Queen, he should have free licence to depart, desiring all such, that they would certifie all men, but especially her Majesty, that Wyat calling God and men to witnes did protest, that he took not Arms any way to prejudice Her, but to maintain the Liberties of his Countrey inviolate against Forein Machinations.* The five hundred *Londoners*, many of the Guard, and the greatest part of the headless Army forthwith joyn with *Wyat*, who now upon confidence of his Forces resolves to make speedily for *London*.

Whiles *Wyat* thus acts his part in *Kent*, the Duke of *Suffolk*, who with his Brothers Lord *John* and Lord *Leonard Gray* departed from *London* on the five and twentieth of *January*, did every where incite the People to take Arms against the *Spaniard*. But finding, that this Alarm took not, and knowing he had waded too far to hope for a second Pardon, he determined to endeavour an Escape by flight. But the Earl of *Huntingdon* sent by the Queen with three hundred Horse to take him, made him alter his resolution. The Duke's Company consisted not of above fifty, with which small number in a Countrey that no way favoured his proceedings, to oppose the Earl were desperate madness. Therefore

The Duke of Suffolk perswades the People to Arms in vain.

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distributing his Money amongst them, feigns a flight, adviseth his Brothers and the rest to disperse themselves, and having thus freed himself from the danger of obsequious Eyes, committed himself to the trust of one *Underwood*, whom he had formerly made his Ranger at *Astley*. But Benefits oblige not Ignoble minds, which either mercenary or timid, treacherously fail in their reposed Trust. Such did this man prove, who having promised for a while to shelter his Lord, until he should bethink himself of some other expedient course, either out of fear or hope of reward, betrayed him to the Earl of *Huntingdon*, by whom guarded with three hundred Horse he was brought to *London*, and on the eleventh of *February* committed to the *Tower*.

In the mean time the Queen jealous of the *Londoners*, especially since *Bret's* Revolt, on the first of *February* attended by most of the Nobility, came to *Guildhall*, where the Commons of the City were assembled in their Liveries, to whom she spake after this manner :

*The Queens
Orations to the
Londoners.*

Although we doubt not of your Loyalty, and so need not give an account of Our actions; yet having intelligence that many seduced by this Arch-traytor's gay Pretexes, do secretly favour his Designs; we have, to give satisfaction to all, condescended to this days meeting with the Infant of Spain is that forsooth, that must colour all his Villanies. But his Actions discover his deeper Practises. For having now somewhat increased his members, his madness hath so transported him beyond the distast of Our Match, that he now resolves on the custody of Our Person, and absolute power of removing, retaining, punishing of Our Council whom he list. In this great affair of Our Marriage, we have done nothing but by the advice of Our Peers. We have lived the greatest part of Our age, single. Neither do we now so long for a Husband, but that, if the Estates of Our Realm judge it convenient, We will continue Our Virgin estate. For, that I should seek to endanger England, and to confound all things by an unfortunate Match, the love of Our Native soil, the long knowledge of Our Peacable disposition, Our endeavours for your Good, will perswade you to the contrary. Persist therefore in your Loyal Resolutions, and assist Us in executing Our due Revenge on these Monsters of men, who conspire to take away the Head which was ordained to guide them, and to suffer with them: Neither are Our demands other than we may in reason expect from you, who so maturely, so unanimously admitted of Our Government, as deeming Us the Undoubted Successour to Our Royal Father and Brother.

Having thus confirmed the minds of the Citizens, she arms five hundred men (the greater part Strangers) to the choicest whereof she commits the defence of *London-Bridge*, and disposes of the rest throughout the City. Two days after to *London* comes *Wyat* with an Army of three (or four) thousand, full of hope, that having present admittance into the City, Success should crown his Actions, and that without either peril or pains. But things

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things answered not his expectation. For coming to the Bridge, he found it cut down, the Gates shut and made good against him by armed Troops, who disdainfully bid the Traytor avaunt. Nevertheless he continued two days in *Southwark*, hoping, that time and industry of secret Practisers might work some alteration.

But his hopes being here also frustrated, he turns his March for *Kingston*, there to gain passage over the *Thames*. But the wooden Bridge there was also broken, and the opposite Bank defended by two hundred men, whom the sight of two Peeces of Ordnance ready to be planted against them so terrified, that they left their station, and gave *Wyat* liberty to find out means to waite his Army. Having surmounted this difficulty, he once more resolves for that Queen of Cities, and reposing all the success of this Adventure in celerity, without suffering his Souldiers to repose themselves, makes with a round march for *London*, where he hoped to arrive before day, and to surprize the secure Queen. But God is the Protector of Princes, who more especially are his Images and Lieutenants, so that the practices of Rebels and Traytors against their lawful Sovereigns seldom prove successful. *Wyat* had (not improbably) been Master of his desires, had not God by an unexpected accident retarded him, or rather so blinded him, that by unnecessary delays he overslipped his opportunity. He was now within six miles of *London*, when the Carriages of one of his Brass Peeces being broken, the Peece became for the present unserviceable, because immovable. In remounting this Peece some hours were lost, notwithstanding their persuasions who advised him not to neglect more real Advantages, as indeed he did: for by this means he came short of the time prefixed by those Citizens who were fautors of his Cause. The consideration whereof made many despair of Success and relinquish him, so that his Army was quickly contracted to a smaller gross. Among the rest Sir *George Harper* partaker of all *Wyat's* Stratagems, that he might wipe away the stains of Rebellion and his dissembled Revolt by a loyal Treachery, posted away to the Queen, and revealed the whole series of *Wyat's* Projects. The Queen amazed at the apprehension of this imminent danger, gives Commission to the Earl of *Pembroke* for the speedy raising of some Forces, and makes him General of the Field. *Wyat* hearing that the Earl of *Pembroke* was in Arms, betook himself to a slower march, lest he should be forced against these fresh Souldiers to oppose his panting weary ones. So by Noon he approached the Suburbs, and planting his Ordnance upon a Hill beyond *St. James*, left there the greatest part of his small Army to guard them. He himself with five Ensigns made towards *Ludgate*, and *Cutbert Vaughan* with two other Ensigns toward *Westminster*, leaving *St. James* on the left hand: wherein I believe his chief end was, that by

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Wyat is taken.

The Lady Jane
Beheaded.

terrifying that part of the City, and consequently distracting the Queens Forces, *Wyat* might gain passage with less difficulty. At *Charing-Cross* Sir *John Gage* Lord Chamberlain, with part of the Guard and some other Souldiers made head against *Wyat*. But at length, either the Queen for fear of *Vaughan* so commanding, or not able to withstand the shock, with more than an orderly march he made toward the Court, and filled it with terroure and amazement. The Earl of *Pembroke* followed *Wyat*, still cutting him off behind: by which kind of fight *Wyat*, not turning head, lost many of his Soldiers. The rest of the Rebels courageously marching up *Fleetstreet*, with joyful Acclamations cryed out, *Queen Mary, Queen Mary, God save Queen Mary, who hath granted us our Petitions, and Pardon.* At length they came to *Ludgate*, and desired entrance; but by their feigned Acclamations they gained nothing but reproachful language. Whereupon they intend to return the same way, but are circumvented by the Earl of *Pembroke's* Horse. Then *Clarencieux* perswaded him to yield; and not beyond all his former madness, to surcharge himself with the Blood of so many valiant men. *Wyat's* Souldiers seemed desperately bent to make their way, but his Courage was quailed. So he yielded to Sir *Maurice Barkley*, who mounting him behind him, carried him presently to the Court. Their Captain taken, the Souldiers make no resistance; some few of them escape by flight, but the greater part fill the Prisons of the City. These were the accidents of the sixth of *February*.

Having thus suppress the Faction, the punishment of the Conspirators is next in execution. The first that was reflected on (as for whose sake this Rebellion had been set on foot) was Lady *Jane*; who having been Condemned on the thirteenth of *November*, had her Execution hitherto deferred, not without hope of Pardon. But to take away all farther cause of Sedition, her Death is now absolutely determined. Whereupon *Fecknam* Dean of *Pauls*, afterward Abbot of *Westminster*, was sent unto her to admonish her to prepare for Death, and withal to perswade her to entertain the *Romish* Religion. This sad message so little moved her, that she professed her self bound in this to acknowledge God's infinite goodness: As for discussing matters of Controversie in Religion; her time was so short, that she could not dispense with the least loss of it; that little that was allotted her, she knew she might better spend in her Devotions to Heaven. *Fecknam* conceiving this answer to proceed from a desire of longer date of Life, prevails with the Queen for three days more; and returning to Lady *Jane*, certifies her what he had done; beseeching her to hearken unto him, and to reform her Opinion in point of Religion. To whom she answered with a smiling countenance; *Alas Sir, it was not my desire that her Majesty should be troubled with the report of my words: For think not that I am touched with any desire of prolonging*
my

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my days : No, I am so far from it, that ever since your departure Life hath afflicted me with its tediousness; and as for Death, being wholly intent to the attaining of Life Eternal, I utterly despise it, and her Majesties pleasure being such, I willingly undergo it. Fecknam again reiterated his perswasions, that she would embrace the Religion of the Church of Rome : To whom her replies were such, that whosoever shall read the Conference between them, (for it was after published) cannot without amazement wonder, how so tender an age, especially the Sex considered, should be capable of such Constancy, Learning, Wisdom, Wit. Her Husband Lord Guilford being first to suffer, desired leave to see her, converse with her, and take his last farewell : Whereto she would by no means consent, desiring him To omit this sement of Grief, rather than Comfort, in Death; for they should shortly behold each other more really united in a better place and more happy estate. Yet she unappalled saw him conducted to Tower-hill, and with the same settled spirit beheld his headless Trunk when it was returned to be interred in the Chappel of the Tower. The Death of this innocent Lady, it was conceived, would not be without almost a general distaste. But to decline it as much as might be, it was thought good that she should not be publickly Beheaded; wherefore there was a Scaffold erected within the Tower, whereon about an hour or two after her Husband, on the twelfth of February she submitted her neck to the Ax. When she was conducted from the place of her imprisonment to the place of her suffering, the Lieutenant of the Tower desired her to vouchsafe him something or other which might serve as a Monument to him, whereby to remember her; whereupon she demanded Writing-Tables, and therein wrote three short Sentences in Greek, Latin, (in which Languages she was admirably skilled) and English, wherein she signified her Innocence; and although she confessed she had committed an Errour, which deserved Death, yet Ignorance might among men without prejudice to the Laws sufficiently excuse it. At last saluting the People as she went, with a countenance settled and void of fear, and commending her self to their Prayers, she came to the place of Execution; leading Fecknam by the Hand, whom she kindly embraced; saying, God I beseech him abundantly reward you for your Kindness toward me; although I must needs say it was more unwelcome to me, than my instant Death is terrible. Then having to the Assembly in very modest language discoursed of her Action, she said,

I am Condemned, not for having aspired to the Crown, but because I refused it not being offered; and shall serve for a memorable Example to Posterity; that Innocence excuseth not great Misdeeds, if they any way tend to the destruction of the Weal publick; for he hath abundantly plunged himself in Ill, whosoever even perforce hath become the Instrument of another's Ambition.

Having

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Having spoken thus much, and implored God's mercy, by the help of her Gentlewoman she first disrobed her self of her Gown, then her Attire, and vailing her Eyes with her Handkerchief, laid her Head on the Block, and exhorted the lingring Executioner to the performance of his office, which he at length did; his action drawing tears from the Eyes of the Spectators, yea even of those, who from the very beginning were affected to Queen *Maries* Cause. This was the end of *Jane*, a Lady renowned for the greatness of her Birth, but far more for her Virtues and excellency of Wit, who swayed by the Ambition of her Father-in-Law and imperious Mother, took on her that Fatal Title of a Queen; and being presently hurried from a Kingdom to a Scaffold, suffered for the faults of others, having overcome all the frowns of adverse Fortune by Constancy and Innocence.

Much more just was that Execution which within three days after ensued. Twenty Gibbets as well for terrour of others as for present punishment, being erected in divers parts of the City, on the fourteenth and fifteenth of *February* fifty of the *Kentish* Rebels were hanged on them. On the eighteenth of the same month, *Alexander Bret* who drew those five hundred *Londoners* into a Revolt from the Duke of *Norfolk*, was with a multitude of others (whereof many were of the Gentry) sent into *Kent*, there to undergo exemplary punishment. On the twentieth of *February*, four hundred of the same Crew with Halts about their Necks, were presented before the Queen, all humble suppliants on their Knees, whom the Queen pardoned, and commanded their present liberty.

The Duke of
Suffolk Be-
headed.

On the three and twentieth of *February*, *Henry Gray* Duke of *Suffolk* Father to Lady *Jane*, having been Condemned on the seventeenth of the same month, was publicly Beheaded: A man whose facility to by-practices had occasioned all the Troubles wherewith this Reign had hitherto been distracted; whose rash Ingratitude (the Queen having once Pardoned him beyond expectation) diverted the current of the Queens clemency toward his Daughter, and brought him to a deserved end.

Wyat Execu-
ted,

The next turn was *Wyat's*, and that on the eleventh of *April*. Who upon a kind of promise of Pardon, if he would detect the rest of the Conspirators, suborned (as is conceived) by some malevolent persons, among the rest traduced young *Courtney*, as that having been refused by Queen *Mary*, he aspired to marry the Lady *Elizabeth*, to depose the Queen, and so to reign as it were in the right of his Wife. This Accusation had procured their Commitment, the Lady *Elizabeth's* on the eighteenth of *March*, *Courtney's* on the twelfth of *February*. But *Wyat* finding himself deluded, and being toucht with the horridness of so treacherous an Accusation, going to the place of his Execution, desired the favour of a few words with the Marquess of *Exeter*, which

was

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which was granted him. Of the Marquess he on his knees craved pardon for that irreparable Injury which he had done him, not out of Malice, but desire of Life. The Sheriffs of the City, with many others were then present, and after testified the certainty of this acknowledgement. But the Bishop of *Winchester* Lord Chancellour (who out of fear of change of Religion if Queen *Mary* dying, *Elizabeth* should come to the Crown, was content to lay hold on any occasion to cut her off) affirmed in the *Star-Chamber*, and thereto cited the testimony of the Lord *Chandois*, that *Wyat* a little before his Death exhorted the Marquess to acknowledge his Crime, and to submit himself to the Queens mercy. But what apparance of truth can there be in this, it being certain, that *Wyat* having ascended the fatal Scaffold, seeing the Instruments of Death before his Eyes, and having composed himself for another World, did with sincere protestations and religious asseverations acquit the Lady *Elizabeth* and the Lord *Courtney* from being any the least way conscious to his practices.

On the seven and twentieth of *April*, Lord *Thomas Gray* was Beheaded for having by perswasions as it were thrust on his irrelolute Brother the Duke of *Suffolk* to partake with *Wyat* in his Seditious attempts.

And Lord
Thomas Gray.

On the sixteenth of *May* the Lady *Elizabeth* was removed from the *Tower* to *Woodstock*, and the Marquess of *Exceter* to *Foderingay*, the place only being altered, and nothing remitted of the strictness of their Imprisonment.

About the same time that Reverend *Cranmer* yet Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Nicholas Ridley* lately deprived of the Bishoprick of *London*, and *Hugh Latimer* who so long ago resigned his Bishoprick of *Worcester*, were removed from the *Tower* to *Windsor*, and thence to *Oxford*, there solemnly to Dispute with the Divines of both Universities concerning the *Eucharist*. Their usage was extreme almost beyond belief. Two days only were allotted them for their preparation; and those two days were they in straight custody in several either Dungeons or places little differing, debarred both the conference of any but their Gaoler, and the use of their own Papers and Books. In the Schools the behaviour toward them was as barbarous as their usage had been tyrannical: Shouts and outcries were the chiefest Arguments, many opposing one, without Order, without Manners, without Modesty. On the fourteenth of *April* from the Prison they were brought to *St. Maries*, and commanded to Abjure; upon their refusal, a day is prefixed for publick Dispute: *Cranmer's* day was the sixteenth, *Ridley's* the seventeenth, *Latimer's* the eighteenth of *April*, each in their course to answer all Opponents; which each of them performed, and that so, that notwithstanding they were amazed with rude clamours, and distracted with variety of Opponents,

A Disputation
at Oxford.

all

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Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer Condemned.

all urging and craving answer at the same time, although they were scoffed at, reviled, and over-born with multitude, yet did they force their Adversaries to admire them. *Cranmer* did learnedly, and according to the dignity wherein he so many years flourished, gravely; *Ridley* acutely and readily; *Latimer* with a pleasant tartness, and more solidly than could be expected of a man so near the age of fourscore. The Disputation ended, they are again on the twentieth of *April* brought to *St. Maries*, and demanded whether they would persist in their Opinions; upon their reply, that they would, they were declared Hereticks, and condemned to the Fire. Their Constancy was the more manifest by their contempt of Death. *Latimer* was scarce capable of the joy he conceived, that God was pleased he should end his long life (whereto Nature would shortly set a period) with so happy a clause. As for their Martyrdom, it falls in with the next Year, and thither we remit it.

Presently after those forepassed Tumults, the Queen sends forth Summons for a Parliament to begin the second of *April*. In this Parliament she proposeth two things, her Marriage and Subjection to *Rome* in matters Ecclesiastical; this last she could not for a while obtain, the other was assented unto upon conditions, That

Additions to the former Nuptial Contracts.

Philip should not advance any to any publick Office or Dignity in England, but such as were Natives of England, and the Queens Subjects: He should admit of a set number of English in his Household, whom he should use respectfully, and not suffer them to be injured by Foreiners: He should not transport the Queen out of England but at her intreaty, nor any of the Issue begotten by her, who should have their Education in the Realm, and should not be suffered but upon necessity or some good reasons, to go out of the Realm, nor then neither but with the consent of the English: The Queen deceasing without Children, *Philip* should not make any claim to the Kingdom, but should leave it freely to him, to whom of right it should belong: He should not change any thing in the Laws either publick or private, the Immunities and Customs of the Realm, but should be bound to confirm and keep them: He should not transport any Jewels, or any part of the Wardrobe, nor alienate any of the Revenues of the Crown: He should preserve our Shipping, Ordnance, and Munition, and keep the Castles, Forts, and Block-houses in good repair, and well manned: Lastly, that this Match should not any way derogate from the League lately concluded between the Queen and the King of France, but that the Peace between the English and the French should remain firm and inviolate: Only it should be lawful for *Philip* out of other Kingdoms and Dominions belonging to his Father the Emperour, to send Aids unto him, either for propelling Injuries, or taking revenge for any already received.

Philip arrived in England.

All things being thus transacted, and no further impediment interposing between these Princes; *Philip* setting sail from the

Groin

Groin on the sixteenth of July, with a good Southern gale within three days arrived at *Southampton* with a Fleet of one hundred and sixty Sail, whereof twenty were *English*, and other twenty *Flemings*. Having rested himself there the space of three days attended by a great company of the *English* and *Spanish* Nobility, on the four and twentieth of July being a very wet day he came to the Queen at *Winchester*. The Feast-day of St. James (the Tutelary Saint of *Spain*) was destined for the Nuptials, which were Celebrated at *Winchester* with great pomp. There Don Juan Figueroa for the Emperour resigned the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, and conferred all his right thereto on Philip; and the Heralds proclaimed their Titles in *Latin*, *French*, and *English*. About the beginning of *August* these two Princes came to *Basing*, and thence to *Windsor*, where the King was installed Knight of the Garter: On the eleventh of *August* they came to *London*, where the Citizens received them with most magnificent Solemnity.

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And is married to the Queen.

On the eleventh of *November* another Parliament began at *Westminster*; about the beginning whereof Cardinal Pool (who by King Henry had been proclaimed Enemy to the Estate, was created Cardinal by Paul the Third, had himself been Pope if he had but consented in time, and in the opinion of many was thought a fit Husband for the Queen) arrived in *England*. Having been put beside the Papacy by others default more than his own, craving leave of the new Pope Julius, he withdrew himself to a Monastery in the Territory of *Verona* called *Maguzano*, the Religious whereof were *Benedictine* Monks, of which Order he himself while he continued at *Rome* had been Patron. Having decreed there to hide himself and spend the remainder of his days, the fame of King Edward's Death and Queen *Maries* advancement to the Crown, drew him again out of the Cloister to *Rome*. He was not ignorant how Mary stood affected to the See of *Rome*, and therefore hoped (not without good cause) that Julius, who much favoured him, having by his delays attained the Papacy, would send him into his Countrey with the honorable Title and Authority of a Legate. And now he feigned to himself a double hope of a Kingdom, if not Secular, at least Ecclesiastical, by virtue of his authority Legatine and the dignity of Archbishop of *Canterbury*. Queen Mary had her Education for some years under Margaret Countess of *Salisbury* the Mother of Pool (who was then a Child) and that by Queen *Catharine's* means, who intended (as it was thought) to marry her Daughter the Lady Mary to one of the Countesses Sons, thereby to strengthen her Daughters claim to the Crown, if it should happen that Henry should decease without other lawful Issue, the Countess being Daughter to George Duke of *Clarence*, who was Brother to Edward the Fourth. The Cardinal, whether for this

Cardinal Pool comes into England.

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or some other reasons, knowing himself to be in dear esteem with the Queen, was confident if not of the Crown by Marriage, yet at least of all advantages of her Favour. Neither was he therein deceived; for *Mary* having obtained the Crown, earnestly sued unto him to restore himself to his Countrey; and the Pope, not ignorant how much he would advantage the Apostolick See, at the Queens request dispatched him with most ample Authority. But the Emperour having a Project on foot for his Son, was somewhat jealous of the Cardinal; and therefore began seriously to treat with Cardinal *Dandino* the Pope's Legate with him, for the conclusion of a Peace between him and the French, that so he might give a stop to *Pool*, whose coming into England, the Emperour's affairs being not yet settled, might peradventure make all fly asunder. *Dandino* to gratifie *Charles*, by *Francisco Commendano* sends Letters to *Pool*, advising him not to set forth as yet, forasmuch as this Legacy undertaken without the Emperour's consent, was displeasing; and the English Nation for the most part, especially the *Londoners*, did so hate the name of the Pope of *Rome*, that his Legacy would be held in contempt among them: A Legate therefore was not to be employed unto them, until perswasions had brought them to a better temper. *Pool* having received these Letters in his Cloister, thought it fitting to expect his Holiness pleasure. The Pope not brooking the increase of the Emperour's greatness by the addition of such Estates, and fretting that *Dandino* had presumed to stay the Cardinal, recalled *Dandino*, and conferred on *Pool* alone the Legacy both into England for the one affair, and to the Emperour and the French for the Treaty of a Peace. He willingly undertaking it, presently set forward from *Trent*, certifying the Emperour and the French of his large Commission. The Emperour perceiving that these devices would be no longer available, sent *Don Juan de Mendoza* unto him with Letters, wherein he plainly discovered his fear, that the Cardinal's premature arrival in England might prove an obstacle to his proceedings there, which were great and hopeful: Wherefore it was his desire, that he should either there attend his pleasure, or if he would needs go further he might come to *Liege*, and there expect the event of his designs. The Cardinal upon receipt of these Letters returns to *Dilling*, (not far from *Trent*) certifies his Holiness of the whole carriage of the Business, and sends expostulatory Letters to the Emperour, shewing therein what an indignity it was to Apostolick See, that his Holiness Legat sent upon a Treaty of Peace, and to reduce a Kingdom to the obedience of the Church, should so disgracefully, with contempt to his Holiness, and that by the Emperour's command, be detained in the midst of Germany in the sight of the Enemies of the Church. That great Divine *Domingo Soto* Ordinary Preacher to the Emperour was then at

Dilling.

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Dilling. By him he perswades the Emperour not to hinder this Legation, being it would so much hazard the estate of the Church, but especially of the Kingdom of *England*. At length with much ado, and that not until the Emperour had intelligence, that the Articles concerning his Son's Marriage were agreed on, he obtained leave to come to *Brussels*, but on this condition, that he should there reside until the Emperour were assured, that the Marriage between *Philip* and *Mary* were Solemnized. So to *Brussels* he came, where having saluted the Emperour, who received him very courteously, and that time might not pass unprofitably, with him he begins to put in execution one part of his Legation, which was, to draw the Emperor and the King of *France* to some indifferent terms of Peace. The Emperour professing, that he would not reject Peace upon any reasonable conditions, the Cardinal goes into *France*, to treat with *Henry* concerning the same thing: Who made as fair shews as did the Emperour; but their minds exulcerated with inveterate hate, made all his pains fruitless. *Henry* at his departure embracing him, signified the sorrow he had conceived, that he had not sooner occasion to be acquainted with his worth: For had he truly know him, his endeavours should have been totally for his advancement to the Papacy.

A little after his return to *Brussels*, came the Lords *Paget* and *Hastings* Ambassadors to the Emperour from their Majesties of *England*, who signified their joint-longing to see the Cardinal, and therefore desired he might be forthwith dismissed; that by virtue of his Authority he might rectifie the Church of *England*, wonderfully out of tune by reason of the Schism wherewith it had been afflicted. So in *September* he had leave to go for *England*, but was by contrary winds detained at *Calais* until *November*, in which month he at length arrived at *Dover*. His entertainment was most honourable, the Kings and Nobles alike striving to manifest their joy. And because being in the year 1539 by Parliament declared Enemy to the Estate, and by the same Law condemned to die; the Estates then assembled in Parliament repealed that Act, and restored him to his Blood, the Kings themselves coming to the House extraordinarily for the confirmation of the Act before his arrival at *London*. A little after his coming, both Houses were sent for to the Court, where the Bishop of *Winchester* Lord Chancellour having in the presence of the Kings and the assembly spoken something concerning the Cardinal's grateful arrival, the Cardinal himself began a long Oration in *English*, wherein He acknowledged how much he was bound to the Kings and the Estates of the Realm, by whose favour those Laws for his Exile and Proscription were repealed, and he once more made a Native of the Land: He was bound by the Laws of Gratitude to endeavour the requital of this Benefit, whereto an occasion

Cardinal
Pool's Oration
to the Parli-
ament.

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happily offered it self : The late Schism had separated them from the Union of the Church, and made them exiles from Heaven ; by the Authority conferred on him by the Pope St. Peter's Successor, Christ's Vicar, he would bring them back into the Fold of the Church, the sole means of attaining their celestial Heritage. Wherefore he exhorted them ingenuously to acknowledge the Errours of these later years, and to detest them, with sincere alacrity of mind to accept of, and retain this Benefit, which God by his Vicar's Legate did proffer them. For now nothing else remained, but that he being present with those Keys which should open the Gates of the Church, they should also abrogate those Laws, which lately Enacted to the prejudice of the Church, had rended them from the rest of its Body.

Having spoken a great deal to this purpose, and ransacked Antiquity for examples of our Forefathers devotion to the See of Rome ; his grave delivery, excellent language, and methodical contexture of his speech wrought so effectually in the minds of those who were addicted to Popery, that they thought not themselves until this day capable of Salvation. But many of the lower House, who deemed it a rare felicity to have shaken off the yolk of Rome, eagerly withstood the readmittance of it. But by the endeavours of the King and Queen all things were at last composed to the Cardinal's liking. The Authority which the Popes heretofore usurped in this Realm is restored, the Title of *Supreme Head of the Church* is abrogated, and a Petition drawn by the whole Court of Parliament, for the Absolution of the People and Clergy of *England* from Schism and Heresie is by the Bishop of *Winchester* presented to the Legate, who (they all kneeling) by the Authority committed unto him absolved them. This being done, they went to the Chappel in Procession singing *Te Deum*, and the next Sunday the Bishop of *Winchester* in his Sermon at *Pauls Cross* made a large relation of what had passed.

The Realm
freed from In-
terdiction.

These things being thus settled, the Queen intends an honorable Embassy to Rome, whereof she had at her first coming to the Crown made promise. For having resolved to replant the Religion of Rome, she had privily written to *Pool*, requiring his advice therein. The Pope was therefore pleased to send into *England* *Giovanni Francisco Commendono* his Chamberlain (afterward Cardinal) for the more perfect notice of the estate of the Realm. To him the Queen after much private conference did under her Hand promise Obedience to the See of Rome, desiring withal, that the Kingdom might be absolved from the Interdict, for the obtaining whereof she would by a solemn Embassy petition his Holiness as soon as the Estate was settled. So now about the end of this year the Bishop of *Ely*, Sir *Anthony Brown*, and *Edward Carne* Doctor of Law, are by the Kings sent to proffer their Obedience to the See of Rome. But these costs and pains were fruitless.

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fruitless. For before they came to *Rome* the Pope was dead. In the mean time the Queen considering all her actions hitherto to have passed with full applause, began to treat with the Nobility, to condescend, that if not the Royal, at least the Matrimonial Crown of our Queens might be imposed on *Philip*. But it being a matter without precedent, and that might perchance to an ambitious Prince give some colour for claim to the Kingdom, they proved averse, and she content to surcease.

The next care was of restitution of Church-Lands. But *Henry* had so divided them, and that among the Nobility, that nothing could be done therein. Only it was decreed, that the First-Fruits and Tenths granted to the King by the Clergy *Anno* 1534, should be remitted; which Decree upon consideration of the Treasuries poverty, and of the many Pensions granted by *Henry* to the ejected Religious Persons, was quickly revoked.

About the same time an absurd (I might say ridiculous) accident happened by the Queens own credulity and the flattery of fawning Courtiers. By reason of a Disease, which Physicians term a *Mole*, her Belly began to swell; and some other reasons giving her cause to conjecture that she was with Child, she not entertaining the advice of any Physicians, but of Midwives and old Women, believing what she desired should be, affirmed that she felt the stirring of the *Embryo* in her womb. To those that are affected with this malady, that fleshy and inform substance which is termed *Mola*, doth seem sometimes to move, but that slowly, and with the general motion of the whole Belly. By this and other symptoms Physicians would quickly have discovered her Disease, which unless very maturely prevented, is commonly incurable: So that in process of time her Liver being over-cooled, she fell into a Dropsie, which as *Fuchsius* and other Physicians write, doth usually happen. But these flattering hopes betrayed her to the laughter of the World, and to her Grave. For on the seven and twentieth of *November* the Lords of the Council sent some Mandates to the Bishop of *London*, to disperse certain forms of Prayers, wherein after Thanks given to God for his Mercies to this Kingdom, by giving hopes of an Heir to the Crown, and infusing life into the *Embryo*, they should pray for the preservation of the Queen and the Infant, and her happy delivery, and cause *Te Deum* to be sung every where. Then by Parliament many things were Enacted concerning the Education of the Babe; and much clutter was otherwise kept about preparations for the Child's Swadling-clouts, Cradle, and other things requisite at the Delivery; until in *June* in the ensuing year it was manifested, that all was little better than a Dream.

*The Queen
thought to be
with Child.*

This year were many Barons created. On the eleventh of
March,

1554.

Lords created.

March, William Howard was created Lord Howard of Effingham, he was Father to Charles Lord Admiral and late Earl of Nottingham; on the fifth of April, John Williams Lord Williams of Tame; on the seventh of April, Edward North Baron of Chartlege; on the eighth of April, John Bruges Lord Chandois; on the fourteenth of May, Gerard Fitz-Gerard (of whom before) Earl of Kildare; and on the second of September, Anthony Brown Viscount Mountague: And in September deceased Thomas Duke of Norfolk.

ANNO DOM. 1555. REG. MARIÆ 2 & 3,
PHILIPPI 1 & 2.

1555.

ON the eighteenth of January the Lord Chancellour coming to the Tower with six other Lords of the Council set many brave Prisoners at liberty, viz. the Archbishop of York, Sir John Rogers, Sir James Croft, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, Sir Nicholas Arnold, Sir George Harper, Sir William Sentlow, Sir Gawin Carew, Sir Andrew Dudley the Duke of Northumberland's Brother, William Gibs, Cutbert Vaughan, Harington, Tremaine, and others. The Archbishop having married a Wife, was deprived, and Nicholas Heath sometimes Bishop of Worcester, but deprived by King Edward, and (Hooper being ejected and condemned to the Fire) lately restored by Queen Mary, was substituted in his place. Rogers and Croft were afterward Privy Counsellors to Queen Elizabeth, under whom they many years flourished in great Authority. Throckmorton (a subtil man) was thought to have been the plotter of Wyatt's Rebellion; his Head was therefore especially aimed at. But being indicted, and ten whole hours spent in sifting him, he by such witty answers voided the accusation of his Adversary, that the Jurors found him Not guilty; for which they were afterward soundly fined.

Lady Elizabeth and the Marquess of Exeter set at liberty.

About the beginning of April, the Marquess of Exeter, and a little after, the Lady Elizabeth were set at liberty. Concerning Lady Elizabeth, it was long consulted what course to take with her, wherein the resolutions of the Papists were bloodily bent to make her away when any colourable occasion should present it self. The Bishop of Winchester upon any speech concerning the punishment of Hereticks, is reported to have said, *we strip off the leaves, or lop off the branches; but unless we strike at the Root that hope of Hereticks*, (meaning Lady Elizabeth) *we do nothing*. But after long search into her Actions, no sufficient matter of Accusation being found, although there wanted not those who sought to perswade the Queen, that her liberty would endanger the Queen; yet Philip aspiring to the opinion of Clemency, by his intercession toward the end of April she had her liberty, but so, that she was bound to admit of into her Family Sir Thomas Pope a Privy Counsellor,

Counsellor, *Gage*, and some others, who should always keep watch over her Actions.

1555.

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John Rogers  
Burned,

This small sparkle of Clemency was obscured by a greater flame of Cruelty; a multitude of godly men suffering this year for their Conscience only. On the fourth of *February*, *John Rogers* the Protomartyr of those times was Burned at *London*. He was *Tindal's* Companion, after whose death fearing persecution, he would not return into his Countrey, but went with his Wife to *Wirttemberg*, where having attained to the *German* Tongue, he undertook the Cure of a certain Church there, which he faithfully discharged, until under King *Edward* he was recalled from Exile, by *Ridley* Bishop of *London* made a Prebend of *Pauls*, and Lecturer there. Queen *Mary* having attained the Crown, the Papists endeavoured to affright him, and so to have once more forced him to a voluntary Exile, commanding him not so much as to peep into the streets: and in this manner lived he a year, until at last refusing to die, he was imprisoned, and condemned to the Fire, which cruel Death (notwithstanding that he was to leave a Wife and ten Children) he did most constantly undergo.

and Bishop  
Hooper,

The like end on the ninth of *February* made *John Hooper* Bishop first of *Glocester*, and then of *Worcester* too, holding both Sees in *Commendam*, who took much pains about *Boner's* deprivation, which thing now hastened him to a Stake. For as soon as Queen *Mary* was enthroned, he was sent for to *London*, committed to the *Tower*, and condemned for an Heretick. *Henry* reigning, he he spent part of his life in *Germany*, where he took to Wife a *Burguignon*, and among other devout Learned men, had intimate familiarity with *Henry Bullinger*, by whom for his Learning, godly and sweet conversation he was held in dear esteem. After his condemnation he was sent to *Glocester*, there to suffer, where he was thought most to have sinned in sowing seeds of Errour: He himself not a little rejoycing that he should by the testimony of his Blood confirm that Doctrine before their Eyes, into whose Ears he had so often inculcated it.

Bishop Ferrar,

The same course was taken with *Ferrar* Bishop of *St. Davids*, who was brought down from *London* to his own Diocess, there to be judged by the new Bishop *Morgan*, by whom he was condemned, and Burned at *Caermarden* the third of *March*. He was a man rigid and of a rough behaviour, which procured him much trouble under King *Edward*, and now I believe proved his bane. For having been by the Duke of *Somerset* advanced to that Dignity, after his death this good and learned man by his sower behaviour drawing near to arrogance (which with that Nation is a great indignity) raised against himself many accusers, two whereof under Queen *Elizabeth* became Bishops, who after the death of the Duke of *Somerset* easily prevailed with the adverse



1555.

adverse Faction for his Imprisonment. Being found in Prison when *Mary* came to the Crown, and brought before the Bishop of *Winchester*, he might (I believe) by pleasing answers and a little yielding to the season, have honestly escaped their bloody Hands, as did many others, who having not waded too far in *Lady Jane's* cause, nor otherwise given any grand affront to any of the Popish Prelates, by this means without impediment going into voluntary exile, or being taken, had their liberty easily procured at the intercession of Friends. But *Ferrar* according to his innate tartness, answering freely (I will not say waiwardly) to his interrogatories, did so enrage the Bishop of *Winchester*, that I do not much wonder at the hard proceedings against him.

many others,

Beside these, *Roland Taylor* Doctor of Divinity suffered at *Hadley* the ninth of *February*, *Lawrence Sanders* an Excellent Preacher, on the eighth at *Coventry*, *John Cardmaker* Chancellour of the Church of *Wells* on the last of *May* at *London*, where also on the first of *July* that godly and learned man *John Bradford* underwent the tortures of his Martyrdom.

and Bishop  
Ridley, and  
Latimer.

But not to go to a particular enumeration of all that suffered for their Faith, the number of them was almost incredible, the greater part whereof were Executed out of *Boner's* butchery. But among others we cannot omit those Worthies *Ridley* and *Latimer*, who having been condemned the year before, were now on the sixteenth of *October* conducted to Execution, and at *Oxford* in the aspect of the Academicks were in the Town-ditch near *Baliol* Colledge tied to a stake and Burned. *Cranmer* is reported from the higher part of his Prison to have beheld this doleful spectacle, and with bended Knees and elevated Hands to have prayed for their constancy of Hope and Faith, as also for himself who was shortly he knew to tread their path. But his Execution was for a time deferred by the Bishop of *Winchester's* means, and that not out of pity, but ambition, and regard of his own profit.

The death of  
Pope Julius the  
Third.

On the four and twentieth of *March* died *Julius* the Third, after whose death the Conclave elected *Marcello Cervino*, a man of excellent learning, wisdom, and sanctity of life, and under whom there was great hope of the Reformation of that Church: Whose that memorable saying was, *That he did not see how it was possible for a Pope to be saved*; who having sate two and twenty days only, died, and left the Chair to Cardinal *Caraffa*, of whose contention with *Pool* we have spoken already, who succeeded him by the name of *Paul* the Fourth. *Gardiner* being not ignorant of this contention, and the differences between them, deals underhand with this new Pope to honour him with a Cardinal's Hat, and to transfer on him the authority Legatine by *Julius* conferred on *Pool*. The Pope in regard of his hatred to *Pool*, easily condescended thereto, determining also to cite him to *Rome*; there

Paul the  
Fourth suc-  
ceedeth.  
*Gardiner* sueth  
to be Cardinal.

to

to force him to acquit himself of Heresie, and to suffer as did Cardinal *Morono Pool's* great Friend, whom this Pope detained in Prison as long as himself lived. Hereby *Gardiner* well hoped to attain to be Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Revenues of which Bishoprick *Pool* received as a Sequestrator, and would no otherwise as long as *Cranmer* lived. This was the reason that *Cranmer's* Execution was deferred, to work means that *Pool* might not be invested in the Archbishoprick, which he himself for the former reasons hoped to attain. But while *Gardiner* was wholly intent to this project, Death had a project on him, and cut him off by the extremity of a Dropsie, which swelling from his Feet and Legs up to his Belly dispatched him on the twelfth of *November*, who was with great Solemnity interred in his Cathedral at *Winchester*.

*Gardiner*  
died.

The Emperour *Charles* the Fifth having determined to resign the Empire and his Kingdom, on the five and twentieth of *October* at *Brussels*, where all the Estates of his Realms were assembled, transferred all his Kingdoms and Dominions on his Son *Philip*, whom he had formerly made King of *Naples* and *Sicily*, and betook himself to the rest of a private life.

*Charles the*  
*Emperour*  
resigns his  
Crowns.

ANNO DOM. 1556. REG. MARIÆ 3 & 4,  
PHILIPPI 2 & 3.

TO begin the year with its first day, on the first of *January*, *Nicholas Heath* Archbishop of *York* was made Lord Chancellor.

1556.

The Archbishop  
of *York* Lord  
Chancellor.  
A Comet.

In *March*, a Comet in the twentieth degree of *Libra* was seen from the fifth to the seventeenth of the same month.

On the thirteenth of *March*, a counterfeit *Edward*, whose true name was *William Fetherstone* was Executed for a Traytor: He being a Miller's Son, in stature and lineaments of Body not much unlike the deceased King *Edward*, and his Age also agreeable, had been the last year publicly whipped through *London*, for affirming himself to be the King. But not sufficiently terrified by the smart of this punishment, he again betakes him to the same Imposture, privately affirms himself to be King *Edward*, and causes Letters to be cast abroad, that King *Edward* was alive, for which he was at length deservedly Hanged.

A counterfeit  
*Edward*.

And now we are at length come to the narration of the memorable Martyrdom of the Archbishop *Cranmer*. *Stephen Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester* being dead, Cardinal *Pool* as yet the Pope's Legate, appointed *James Brooke* Bishop of *Glocester* for *Cranmer's* Tryal, forasmuch as they judged it unlawful to punish an Archbishop but by leave from his Holiness. *John Story* and *Thomas Martin*,

Archbishop  
*Cranmer*  
burned.



1556.

Doctors of Law Commissioners for the Queen, accompanied the Bishop to *Oxford*, that the Authority Royal might countenance the Delegates proceeding. In *St. Maries Church* they had high Seats purposely erected for them, *Brooke* sitting under the place, where the consecrated Host did usually hang in a Pix, beside him sate *Martin* and *Story*, but a little lower, and *Cranmer* habited like a Doctor of Divinity, not like a Bishop, was brought before them. Being told that there were those who represented not only her Majesties person, but also of the most holy Father the Pope, he with due reverence saluted *Story* and *Martin*, but would not so much as vouchsafe to cast his Eyes toward *Brooke*, and that not (as he afterward confessed) out of contempt of the man, whom he formerly loved, but that he might not seem to acknowledge the Pope's Authority, he having by Oath to King *Henry* obliged himself to the contrary, especially in *England*, where he could make no pretence of right. Then each of them exhorted him to change his Opinion, and return to the Union of the Church: But he not regarding their admonition, they cite him to appear within fourscore days before his Holiness, which with her Majesties consent, he promised he would. But the Pope not expecting his coming, within twenty days after by Letters to the King and Queen commanded him to be Condemned, and committed to the Secular power. After the intercourse of a few days, new Authority is by the Pope granted to *Boner* Bishop of *London*, and *Thirlby* Bishop of *Ely* for *Cranmer's* degradation from Orders both Presbyterial and Archiepiscopal, and he then to be delivered over to the secular Magistrate to suffer for Heresie, which was accordingly performed on the fourteenth of *February*. Those Saint-like men, *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and *Latimer*, as long as they lived did by Letters exhort each other to a generous Constancy for the maintenance of the truth of the Christian Faith. But the other two Champions having made their way to Heaven, and left him alone not plied with such firm Exhortations, out of desire of longer Life his Constancy began at length to be shaken, and that by the subtilty and daily persuasions of a *Spanish* Frier. So being seduced with hope of pardon, he retracts what-ever he had before written in defence of his Religion, which Retraction was after printed and published. But that little availed him. For whether that *Pool* would not be longer excluded from the possession of the Archbishoprick, or that (which seems more probable) the Queens inveterate hate and desire of revenge for her Mothers Divorce, which could not be otherwise satiated than with the Blood of this grave man, were the cause: He being now confident of Life is presently rapt to the place of Execution, and there cruelly Burned, where *Ridley* and *Latimer* had five months before been crowned with Martyrdom. On the day appointed for his Execution,

a Sermon by the appointment of the Cardinal was Preached by Dr. Cole. Thither was *Cranmer* brought, and placed conveniently near the Pulpit, where *Cole* exhorted him to a constancy in that Faith, which he was now content to acknowledge, and that even unto Death, which was now by the appointment of the Magistrate to be inflicted on him this very day. God's wrath for the Death of *Fisher* and *Mora* could not otherwise be appeased but by his Blood. But before his Death, would he by a publick Confession testifie his sincere Conversion to the Union of the Church, he should do an act most acceptable to God and men. If with this unexpected news *Cranmer* were amazed, I do not at all wonder. But he recollecting himself stood up, and without any sign of fear, made a quick Oration to the Assembly, wherein having premised many things concerning morality and amendment of life, he repeats the principal points of his Doctrine, briefly explains his Faith, affirmeth, *That under the authority Papal the Kingdom of Antichrist was contained and established, and lastly demonstrates how much he had offended God by the abnegation of the Truth: He professeth therefore, that he had resolved, that his right Hand, wherewith he had so horribly sinned by Subscribing to the Doctrine proposed by the enemies of Truth, should first feel the smart of punishment*; when he would have proceeded to speak more, the multitude of *Romanists* whose expectation he had so finely deluded, with clamours and scoffs interrupted him, and hurried him away presently to the place of Execution. There was then to be seen a sad Spectacle, and such as would, I will not say, have extorted pity from his very Enemies, but have expressed tears from a Flint: The chief Prelate of the Realm lately flourishing by reason of his power and favour of Princes, a man of most holy conversation, for his age, aspect, feature, learning, gravity and rare gifts of mind deservedly most Reverend, clad out of intent to expose him to mockery in an obsolete garment (for so had the Papists purposely arraigned him) and bitterly taunted at to be dragged to death, and that death by the horrid tortures of Fire. Being now fastned to the Stake, as soon as ever the flame began to ascend, lifting up his left Hand to Heaven, he thrust forth his right hand into the flame, and there with admirable constancy continued it until it was consumed, only once drawing it in, and with it stroaking his Beard. At length the raging flame spreading it self, lifting up his Eyes toward Heaven, he cried out, *Lord receive my Spirit*, and his Body abiding as immoveable as the Stake whereto he was fastened, he patiently endured the Fires violence, until he at last expired. His Body being consumed to ashes, his Heart was found entire and untoucht. Had any of the *Romanists* found the like in any one of their Faction, it should have been recorded for a Miracle, and that Miracle sufficed to have Sainted him. Give me leave, though



1556.

it be contrary to the method of History, to insert a few Verses written by *Ralph Skinner* concerning this great man's Martyrdom:

*Succubuit sanctus Præsul Cranmerus, iniquâ  
Pontificum rabie, fraude doloque perit.  
Quòd Verbi invictò dejecerat Ense Papatum,  
Quòd docuit purâ querere mente Deum;  
Quòdque Antichristi subverterat impia regna,  
Regna piis Anglis heu tolerata diu;  
Hinc pius & clemens crudeli addicitur igni,  
Dantur & innocui membra cremenda viri.  
Huc ubi jam ventum est, Dextram projecit in ignem,  
Projectamque tenens talia dicta dedit:  
Primum peccasti, primum & sentire dolorem  
Debes, ah Christo dextra inimica meo.  
Immotamque tenet dum deslagraverat omnis,  
In cineres totam dum cecidisse videt.  
Cetera cum pereant flammâ (mirabile dictu)  
Cor manet illesum post ubi flamma perit.  
Ecce, invicta fides cor inviolabile servat,  
Nec mediis flammis corda perire sinit.*

Which Verses may be thus rendred in *English*:

Through Papists rage and fraud good *Cranmer* dy'd,  
Because he put their Doctrine to the Sword,  
The two-edg'd Sword of Scripture, and discri'd  
*Christ's* Foe, instructing *England* with the Word:  
For this, meek man, he had a Martyr's hire,  
His Soul was burnt with Zeal, his Corps with Fire.

But when he came unto the stake, he thrust  
His right Hand in the flames: Thou first (he said)  
Because thou first did'st sin, here suffer must,  
Thou first thy Lord and Master hast betray'd:  
There held he it; his Eyes did see it fall,  
Soon afterward he sent those Eyes withal.

But lo, a wonder! Heaven's sacred Oracle  
Had sure decreed, that so admir'd a creature  
Should not be put to death sans *Miracle*:  
His Body burnt, his Heart in perfect feature  
Was found unsing'd: See, see, the Faith he cherish'd  
Once in that Heart, preserv'd it still unperish'd.

Beside *Cranmer*, the cruelty of those times did the same year devour many Professors of the same Religion. Of both Sexes no fewer than eighty four were this year martyred by Fire. Neither did

*This year  
eighty four  
Burned.*

did their cruelty exercise it self on the living only : The Bones of *Martin Bucer* and *Paul Phagius* long since dead, were digged up, formally-accused of Heresie, and no man undertaking their Cause (as who durst?) condemned, and publickly Burned in the Market-place at *Cambridge*. And *Peter Martyr's* Wife, who died at *Oxford*, was disinterred, and with barbarous and inhumane cruelty buried in a Dunghil. To *Bucer* and *Phagius* Queen *Elizabeth* did afterward with great solemnity restore their memory and honour : And as for *Peter Martyr's* Wife, she caused her Bones to be translated from that unclean place, to be reinterred in the Church, and commixed with the Relicks of *Frideswid* (by Papists reputed a Saint) that the like occasion of mockage might not again be offered.

1556.  
The exhumation of Bucer and Phagius.

On the same day, whereon *Cranmer* thus ended his life, Cardinal *Pool* was ordered Priest at *Greenwich*, and the next day, *Naboth* being dead, took possession of his Vineyard, being consecrated Archbishop of *Canterbury*. Three days after, being the Feast of the Annunciation, accompanied by many Nobles, *Pool* with great solemnity received the Pall at *Bow-Church*.

Cardinal Pool consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury.

About the same time a notable Conspiracy was detected, some having projected to rob the Exchequer, at that time full of *Spanish* coin to the value of fifty thousand Pounds. The names of the Conspirators were *Udal*, *Throckmorton*, *Pecham*, *Daniel*, *Stanton*, and (besides others that fled for it) *White*, who discovered his fellows. The rest were all taken and suffered as Traitors. Sir *Anthony Kingston* as partaker in their intentions was also apprehended, but died before he could reach *London*.

In *July*, new Tumults begun to be set on foot in *Norfolk* were maturely suppressed, *Cleber* and three Brothers called *Lincolne* the authors of it suffering for their seditious attempt.

On the one and twentieth of *November*, *John Fecknam* Dean of *Pauls* was installed Abbot at *Westminster*, which *Henry* the Eighth had erected to an Archiepiscopal See. There being at that time no Monks in *England*, fourteen were found who were content with *Fecknam's* to take the Religious habit of *Benedictines*.

ANNO DOM. 1557. REG. MARIE 4 & 5,  
PHILIPPI 3 & 4.

NOW after four or five years we found the effect of our Northern Navigation set on foot by *Cabota*. About the beginning of this year arrived in *England* *Osep Napea* Ambassador from *Basilowitz* Emperour of *Russia*, for the Treaty of a perpetual League between our Kings and his Prince. On the *Scottish* Coast he had suffered wrack, and beside Merchandize of infinite value, he lost those Presents, which were from the Emperour destinated to their Majesties.

1557.  
An Embassy to Muscovia.



1557.

Majesties. But the loss of *Richard Chancellor* was beyond all these inestimable, who being a most expert Pilot, first discovered the passage into those Northern Regions, and now more solicitous of the Ambassador's safeguard than of his own, this man most worthy of immortal Memory, was swallowed up in the Seas insatiate gulf. I think the Entertainment of any Ambassador with us was never more Royal. On the five and twentieth of *May*, *Philip* having about seven days before returned out of *Flanders*, he was admitted into the presence of the Kings, declared the purport of his Embassy, and continued in *London*, until the third of *May*; and having then got a convenient season, laden with Gifts he set sail for his Countrey.

The Lord  
Stourton  
hanged.

On the sixth of *March*, *Charles Lord Stourton* for having in his house cruelly murdered one *Hargill* and his Son, with whom he had long been at variance, was by a wholesom example to posterity Hanged at *Sarisbury* with four other of his Servants, who were not only conscious, but actors in the cruelty. After he had beaten them down with Clubs, and cut their Throats, he buried their Carcases fifteen foot deep in the ground, hoping by such sure work to stop the voice of Blood crying for revenge, or if peradventure it were discovered, the regard of his zealous persistence in the Religion of *Rome* would (he hoped) procure the Queens pardon. But Murther is a sin that God hath by many memorable Examples manifested, that it shall not remain undetected: And the Queen although blindly misled in matter of Religion, was so exact a faultrix of Justice, that she was utterly averle from all mention of pardon. So this Nobleman had the punishment due to his offence, only in this preferred before other Murtherers and Parricides, that he was not strangled with an Halter of Hemp, but of Silk.

Thomas Stafford  
endeavouring an  
Insurrection,  
is taken and  
Beheaded.

The seven and twentieth of *April*, *Thomas Stafford* landing in the Northern parts of the Realm, having raked together a small company of Exiles and some Foreiners, surprized *Scarborough Castle* then, as in time of Peace, utterly destitute of provision for resistance: Having thus seized on a place of defence, he makes Proclamation, that Queen *Mary* having her self no right to the Crown had betrayed it to the *Spaniard*, exhorting the people with him to take Arms for the recovery of their lost Liberty. But by the diligence of *Nicholas Wotton* Dean of *Canterbury* then Ambassador for their Majesties with the *French*, all his designs were revealed to the Council before his arrival in *England*. So by the industry of the Earl of *Westmerland* he was within six days taken, brought to *London*, and on the eight and twentieth of *May* Beheaded, *Strechley*, *Proctor*, and *Bradford* the next day following him, but in a more due punishment (being drawn, hanged and quartered) whom they had followed in their treacherous attempts.

The Emperour *Charles* having bequeathed the inheritance of his

his hate to *France* with his Crown, *Mary* could not long distinguish her Cause from her Husbands. Wherefore on the seventh of *June*, the Queen set forth a Proclamation to this effect, that *Whereas the King of France had many ways injured her by supporting the Duke of Northumberland and Wyat in their Rebellions against her; and that his Realm had been a receptacle for Dudley and Ashton, who with the privity of his Ambassador had in his house contrived their treacherous designs, and after their escape into France had been relieved by Pensions from the King; as also for having lately aided Stafford with Shipping, Men, Money, and Munition, thereby if it were possible to dispossess her of the Crown: She gave her Subjects to understand, that they should not entertain Traffick with that Nation, whose Prince she accounted her Enemy, and against whom upon farther grievances she determined to denounce War.*

1557.

War against  
France pro-  
claimed.

Although these things were true, yet had she abstained from denunciation of War, had not the five years Truce between *Philip* and *Henry* by the Pope's instigation been lately broken by the *French*, and so War arising between them, she would not make her self and her Husband two. For the Pope having long since maligned the Emperour (knowing that he after the resignation of his Estates to his Son *Philip* had withdrawn himself into *Spain*) by the Cardinal of *Lorain* still solicited the *French* King to arms against the *Spaniard*, promising to invest him in the Kingdom of *Naples*. *Henry* upon these fair hopes undertakes it, and *Mary* resolves to assist her Husband.

That *Mary* took arms in the behalf of her Husband, Pope *Paul* was much displeased. And being he could not be revenged on her (who indeed was the sole cause of our breach with *France*) he determined to pour out his wrath on *Pool*, whom he ever hated; but now he thought he had more cause to manifest it, because *Pool* knowing that this War was set on foot by the Pope, had by Letters and Ambassadors sought to appease him, and that (though with most humble reverence) yet roundly and according to his Conscience. Having abrogated *Pool's* Legation, he repeals him to *Rome*, and for supply of his place he creates one *Francis Petow* (a *Franciscan* Frier) Cardinal and Legate, and a little after designed him Bishop of *Sarisbury*. The Queen having intelligence of these proceedings, took especial care, that *Pool* might have no notice of them, prohibiting not only this new Cardinal to enter the Realm, but all others whom she suspected to bring any Mandates to that purpose, and with exact diligence causing his Letters to be intercepted, by her Orators at *Rome* certified his Holiness what a hazard the Catholick Religion not yet fully established would incur, if he should endeavour the disgrace of so great a man, whose authority had been much available for the conversion of the Nation. But while there is this intercourse between the Pope and the Queen concerning this matter, *Pool* having some way

*Pool's* autho-  
rity Legation  
abrogated,



1557.

and restored.

The French  
overthrown at  
St. Quintin.St. Quintin  
taken.A natural  
Rainbow.

way or other had an inkling of it, abstained from having the silver Cross the Ensign of his Legation born before him, neither would he afterward exercise his authority Legantine, until by the intercession of *Ormaneto* the Pope's Datary in *England*, he was restored to his dignity.

By this time the War was very hot on both sides, *Philip* besieging *St. Quintin* in *Picardie* with thirty five thousand Foot, and twelve thousand Horse, which number was after increased by a thousand Horse, four thousand Foot, and two thousand Pioners out of *England*; under the Command of the Earl of *Pembroke*. For the managing of this War *Philip* set sail out of *England* on the seventh of *July*. On the tenth of *August*, the *French* endeavouring to put Succours into the Town are overthrown. The *Spaniard* chargeth the Constable *Montmorency* in his retreat, routs the *French*, and kills two thousand five hundred: A Victory not so great in the execution, as in the death and captivity of many brave men. The Constable was wounded and taken Prisoner with his Son, as also the Dukes of *Montpensier* and *Longueville*, *Ludovico Gonzaga* Brother to the Duke of *Mantua*, the Marshal of *St. Andrew*, the Rhinegrave, *Roche-du-Maine*, the Count *Rochfontault*, the Baron of *Curton*, with many other men of mark. The chief of them that were slain were *John* of *Bourbon* Duke of *Anguien*, the Viscount of *Turen*, *N. Tiercellin* Son to *Roche-du-Maine*, the Lords of *Chandenier*, *Pontdormy* and many others, and in a manner all the Foot-Captains. *Philip* lost only fifty men.

The eighth day after this Victory an assault is given, and the Town carried by force, wherein were taken the Admiral *Coligny* with his Brother *d'Andelot*, (who shortly after made an escape) *Jarnac*, *St. Remy*, *Humes*, and many other persons of quality; the Son of the Lord of *Fayette*, *Salevert*, *Ogier*, *Vicques*, *La Barre*, *Eslang* and *Gourdes* were slain. Of the *English* in this assault few of note were lost, beside Lord *Henry Dudley* youngest Son to the Duke of *Northumberland*, and Sir *Edward Windsor*, who were the first that advanced Ensign on the Walls.

This year is alike memorable for the extreme dearth and contemptible cheapness of Corn. A little before Harvest Wheat was sold at four Marks the Quarter; within the current of a month it fell to the low rate of five Shillings. Wherein I rather admire the ensuing cheapness than the dearth, having my self in the year 1597 paid double the former dear price.

But that which I shall now relate, I should deem far more memorable, had I not in later times my self seen the like. On the night which ensued the seventh day of *September*, almost two hours after Sun-set, the Moon having risen an hour before, a Rainbow was seen in the West. That I may relate the like accident though of differing time, the like apparition was seen by me on the four and twentieth of *November* 1604, when ( the Sun having two hours

hours before declined to its lowest) travelling towards *Colebrook*, the form of a white Cloud shaped into a fragment of a Circle, and just opposite to the Moon then newly risen appeared; which did every way resemble a true Rainbow, but that it was not diversified with colours, and instead of the Sun had the Moon its opposite.

1557.

ANNO DOM. 1558. REG. ultimo.

1558.

Calais besieged by the French.

**H**ENRY some way to repair his losses at *St. Quintin*, resolves an Enterprize upon *Calais*, which *Senarpont* Governour of *Bouloigne* perswaded him was not so fortified according to report, but that it might easily be taken. The Marshal *Strossy* having under the favour of a disguise viewed the place, confirmed *Senarpont's* assurance of taking it. *Philip* whether having intelligence of *Henry's* designs, or else presaging so much, had often admonished the Queen to have an especial regard to that Town, voluntarily offering his assistance for the security of it. But we over-wisely jealous, lest *Philip* had a practice on it, it lying commodiously for his adjoyning *Netherlands*, neglected both his advice and proffer. But the reality of his advice was manifested by the event. The Duke of *Guise* having by the King been declared Lieutenant General in all his Dominions, levying a great Army, flies suddenly to the Siege of *Calais*, before which he sate down on *New-years-day*, and intrenched at *Sandgate*. Then dividing his Army into two parts, he at the same time assaults *Newnambridge* and the *Risbank*, two Forts wherein the chief strength of that Town consisted, the taking whereof would have cut off all possibility of relieving the besieged either by Land or Sea. The Garrisons of each place terrified with so unexpected a danger, he at his first arrival gains *Newnambridge*, and the next day the *Risbank*. The French then batter the Wall between the Water-gate and the Prison, not so much out of hope to gain entrance that way, as to divert us from guarding that part of the Town, where they really intended to give an Assault. Having for a while battered that part, and we little suspecting an enterprize upon the Castle, they suddenly with fifteen Peeces make a battery upon the Castle, and continue it with such fury, that the thunder of the Cannon was all that day heard at *Antwerp*, which is distant from thence more than one hundred *English* miles. Having by that time night drew on made a sufficient breach, and yet in regard of the deep Dikes filled with Water (wherein consisted the main hopes of the Defendants) not able to come to an Assault, the Enemy with great toil and labour by a cut from thence to the Sea draw the Dikes so low, that by that time the Tide was gone out, they march not above Navil-high through the Dikes to the Wall (which we little feared could be done) without resistance: Finding the place void



1558.

Calais yielded.

of Defendants, they easily make themselves masters of the Castle, and had as easily taken the Town, if Sir *Anthony Ager* Marshal of the Town had not with some few others made head against them, and forced them to retreat to the Castle, in which conflict that valiant Knight was slain. The Lord *Wentworth* Governour of the Town seeing little hopes of keeping the Town, craved parley, which was granted; and at length yielded the Town upon these Conditions: *That the common Souldiers and Inhabitants should depart without transporting or carrying away any thing with them, and that Lord Wentworth with fifty others such as the Duke of Guise should appoint, should remain Captives to be put to ransom.* So was *Calais* lost, which had continued *English* above two hundred years: neither was the Siege long; the Enemy sitting down before it on *New-years-day*, and having it yielded up on *Twelf-day*.

Seven days after, the Duke marcheth toward *Guines*, which Town he took without any difficulty, but the Castle, which the Lord *Gray* commanded, not so easily. But that and *Hames* Castle were at length taken also and dismantled; so that of all the Kingdom of *France*, the greatest part whereof was for a long time held by our Kings, and whereof *Henry* the Sixth had been Crowned King at *Paris*, Anno 1431, nor in the Duchies of *Normandy* and *Aquitain*, the ancient Inheritance of the Kings of *England*, our Kings possess nothing, but the Isles of *Jersey* and *Guernsey*, which have proved Loyal to us ever since the Conquest. While the *French* proceeded thus in *Picardy*, the Queen certified thereof with great diligence prepares her Fleet to transport Succours for *Calais*; but contrary winds kept them back so long, until *Calais* was irrecoverably lost.

You shall not easily read of any Action, wherein God hath by more manifest signs declared, how displeasing those Wars are to him, which undertaken for Ambition or Profit do dissolve the publick Peace: *Philip* (to begin with him) against whom *Henry* and the Pope did most unjustly conspire, enlarged himself with a double Victory, each whereof were great and memorable. The Cardinal *Caraffa* and the Duke of *Paliane*, who for their own ends had perswaded the doating Pope to throw the Ball of Discord between these Princes, were after for this very thing Beheaded by *Pius* the Fourth, who immediately succeeded *Paul*. *Paul* himself in the mean time, the *French* being overthrown at *St. Quintin* was exposed to the mercy of the *Spaniard*, whom he had irritated; the *French* being forced to withdraw his Army out of *Italy*. The rash violation of the League by *Mary*, was punished with the loss of *Calais*, and through grief thereof (according to common belief) of Life also. What happened to the *French*, who by the Pope's instigation first brake the five years Truce, we have already declared. And lest it might be conceived, that his losses at and of *St. Quintin* were repaired by the taking

taking of *Calais*, another Overthrow given him within few months after, will take away much from the content of that Victory.

1558.

The Battel of  
Graveling.

In *June* the Marshal *De Termes* ( who succeeded *Strossy* lately slain ) Governour of *Calais*, breaketh into *Arthois* and *Flanders*, with an Army consisting of near about eleven thousand men, leaving *Graveling* and *Burburg* at his back, attempts *Berghes*, takes it, sacks it, and so opens a way to *Dunkirk*, which he also takes and spoils; and the Countrey all about ( for they feared not the *French* there, and the Towns which the *Spaniard* held throughout that Tract, were ill furnished ) lying open to their mercy, they ranlack it most miserably, and march as far as *Newport*.

*Philip* was affrighted with this Tempest, fearing especially, lest the Duke of *Guise* then in Arms, should joyn with *Termes*: But having intelligence that the Duke spent his time about *Arlon* and *Vireton*, he resolves to intercept the *French* in their return. In this Enterprize he employs Count *Egmond*, ( his Lieutenant-general in the *Netherlands* ) who having speedily out of the neighbour Garrisons of *Betune*, *St. Omer*, *Aires*, *Burburg*, and others, assembled an Army of fifteen thousand, puts himself between *Dunkirk* and *Calais*. *Termes* had hitherto expected the Duke of *Guise*, but upon notice that the Countrey was up in Arms, he somewhat too late bethought himself of a retreat. He was now every way enclosed, and passage not to be gained but by dint of Sword. The *French* therefore valiantly charge their Enemies, and overthrow some Squadrons of Horse; indeed despair animated them to do wonders, and the *Flemings* were set on fire by the desire of revenging late Injuries. The *Spanish* Troops renew the fight, which was with equal order long maintained on both sides: In the heat whereof ten *English* Men of War fortunately sailing by ( for *De Termes* had for his security betaken him to the shoar, hoping that way with much less hazard to have gained passage ) upon discovery of the *French* Colours, let fly their Ordnance furiously among the *French*, making such a slaughter, that they began to give ground, were at last routed and overthrown.

The French  
overthrown.

The *French* in this Battel lost five thousand. Their chief Commanders were almost all taken; the Marshal himself was hurt and taken, with *d' Annebalt* the Son of *Claud* the late Admiral, the Earl of *Chaune*, *Senarpont*, *Villebon* Governour of *Picardy*, *Morvilliers*, and many others. Two hundred escaped to our Ships, whom they might have drowned, but giving them Quarter, they were brought Captives into *England*. This Battel was fought on the thirteenth of *July*.

The Queen desirous by some action or other to wipe out the stain of the ignominious loss of *Calais*, about the same time set forth a Fleet of one hundred and forty Sail ( whereof thirty were



1558.

Conquet taken and burned by the English.

*Flemings*) the main of the Expedition being from *Brest* in *Bre-taigne*. But the Lord *Clinton* Lord High Admiral of *England* finding no good to be done there, set sail for *Conquet*, where he landed, took the Town, sacked it and set it on fire; together with the Abbey and the adjacent Villages, and returned to his Ships. But the *Flemings* somewhat more greedy after prey, disorderly piercing farther into the Countrey, and regardless of Martial discipline, which commands obedience to their General, being encountred by the Lord of *Kersimon*, came fewer home by five hundred.

*Philip* about the same time lodging near *Amiens* with a great Army, *Henry* with a far greater attended each motion of his. They encamp at last, *Henry* on the North of the River *Somme*, *Philip* on the South of the River *Anthy*, so near to one another, that it might be thought impossible for two such spirited Princes commanding so great Armies, to depart without a Battel. But divers considerations had tempered their heat. *Philip* being the weaker of the two, saw no reason why to engage himself. *Henry* had an Army which had twice felt the other victorious, and was therefore loath on them to adventure his already shaken estate. Wherefore they so entrenched themselves, and fortified their Camps with Artillery, as if they expected a Siege from each other. Some months thus passed without any other exploits than Inroads and light Skirmishes. At length they mutually entertain a motion of Peace, both of them considering, that their Armies consisting of Strangers, the fruits of the Victory would be to the Aliens only, but the calamity and burthen of the Defeat would light on the shoulders of the Vanquished, or (which comes all to one pass) of the Subjects. These motives drew together for a Treaty on *Henry's* side, the Constable, the Marshal of *St. Andrew*, the Cardinal of *Lorain*, *Morvilliers* Bishop of *Orleans*, and *Aubespine* Secretary of Estate: For *Philip*, the Duke of *Alva*, the Prince of *Orange*, *Ruyz Gomes de Silva*, *Granvell* Bishop of *Arras* and others. Much altercation was had about the restoring of *Calais*, which the *French* were resolved to hold, and *Philip* would have no Peace unless it were restored to *Mary*, whom in point of Honour he could not so forsake. But this difference was ended by the death of *Mary*, a little before whom on the one and twentieth of *September* died also the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth, which occasioned both the change of place and time for another Treaty.

The Daulphin married to the Queen of Scots.

And if the continual connexion of other memorable Affairs had not transported me, I should ere this have mentioned the Marriage celebrated at *Paris* with great pomp on the eight and twentieth of *April*, between the Daulphin *Francis* and *Mary* Queen of *Scots*. But the fruits thereof were not lasting: For two years after died *Francis* (the Crown by the death of his Father *Henry* having

having been first devolved to him ) and left his Bed to a more auspicious Husband , *Henry* the eldest Son to the Earl of *Lenox*. Of these Parents was born our late Sovereign of ever sacred memory, who was Nephew by his Mother to *James* the Fifth, by *Margaret* the eldest Daughter Nephew to that wise King *Henry* the Seventh, who, the Issue of *Henry* the Eighth being extinct, as the next undoubted Heir, most happily united the Crowns of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*.

But now at length to draw nearer home, this Autumn was very full of Diseases, Fevers (especially quartan) reigning extraordinarily in *England*, whereby many, chiefly aged persons, and among them a great number of the Clergy perished. Of the sole Episcopal rank thirteen died either a little before the Queen, or some few months after her. Among the rest Cardinal *Pool* scarce survived her a day, who having been for some weeks afflicted by this kind of Disease, and brought to extreme weakness of Body, as if he had at the news of the Queens death received his death's wound, expired at three a Clock the next morning. His Corps inclosed in Lead, was buried in his Cathedral at *Canterbury*, with this brief Elogy on his Tomb, instead of an Epitaph:

*Depositum Cardinalis POLI.*

He was a man admirably learned, modest, mild, of a most sweet disposition, wise, and of excellent dexterity in the managing of any affairs, so that he had been incomparable, if corrupted with the Religion of the Church of *Rome* he had not forced his nature to admit of those cruelties exercised upon the Protestants.

The Queen died at *St. James* on the seventeenth of *November*, some few hours before day. She was a Lady very godly, merciful, chaste, and every way praise-worthy, if you regard not the errors of her Religion. But her Religion being the cause of the effusion of so much innocent Blood, that of the Prophet was necessarily to be fulfilled in her, *Blood-thirsty men, &c. shall not finish half their days.* For she was cut off in the two and fortieth year of her age, having reigned only five Years, four Months, and eleven Days; whereas her Sister, who succeeded her, most happily in a more mild Government ruled nine times as long, and almost doubled her age. Concerning the cause of Queen *Maries* Death there are divers conjectures. To relate what I find in approved Authors, it is reported, that in the beginning of her Sickness her friends supposing that she grieved at the absence of her Husband, whom she saw so engaged in Wars abroad, that she could not hope for his speedy return, used consolatory means, and endeavoured to remove from her that fixed sadness wherewith she seemed to be oppressed. But she utterly averse from all comfort, and giving her self over to melancholy, told them,

*That*

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*The death of  
Cardinal Pool.*

*The Queen  
dieth.*



1558.

*That she died, but that of the true cause of her Death they were ignorant, which if they were desirous to know, they should after her death dissect her Heart, and there they should find Calais: Intimating thereby, that the loss of Calais had occasioned this fatal grief, which was thought to have been increased by the Death of the Emperour her Father-in-Law. But the truth is, her Liver being over-cooled by a Mole, these things peradventure might hasten her end, which could not otherwise be far from her, and cast her by degrees into that kind of Dropsie, which Physicians term *Ascites*. This Dropsie being not discovered in time, deceived her Physicians, who believed that she had conceived by King *Philip*, whereas she alas did breed nothing but her own Death. So mature remedies being not applied, and she not observing a fit Diet, she fell into a Fever, which increasing by little and little, at last ended in her Death. She lieth interred at *Westminster* in the midst of that Chappel which is on the North side of her Grandfather *Henry* the Seventh his Monument, where her Sister Queen *Elizabeth* was after Buried with her, and over both by the pious Liberality of that most Munificent Prince King *James* hath since been erected a most stately Monument, well besitting the Majesty of such great Monarchs.*

Q U E E N  
E L I Z A B E T H.

ANNO DOM. 1558.

HAVING thus briefly run over the Reigns of these three Princes, Queen *Elizabeth's* times in the next place offer themselves; which deservedly requiring a more accurate Style, I will here set a period to this Work, not so much with intent to pretermitt them, as reserving them for a more exact labour. In the mean time, to give some satisfaction to the Reader, I will make this short Addition.

Some few hours after the decease of Queen *Mary*, the Estates then assembled in Parliament, on the seventeenth of *November* declared her Sister the Lady *Elizabeth* Queen, who was Daughter to *Henry* the Eighth and *Ann Bolen*. Having most gloriously reigned forty four years, four months and seven days, she ended her Life and Reign on the four and twentieth of *March*, Anno 1603, the

1558.

the Crown being by her death devolved to the renowned King of *Scots James* the Sixth, to whom it was so far from feeling it a burthen to have succeeded so good a Princess, that never was any Prince received with greater Applause and Gratulation of his People. Many think their condition happy, if they exchange a *Caligula* for a *Claudius*, or a *Nero* for a *Vitellius* or an *Otho*. But that any Mortal should please after *Elizabeth*, may seem a Miracle; and is a great argument both of rare Virtue in the succeeding King, and of a right Judgment in the Subject. For this great Lady was so far beyond Example, that even the best Princes come short of her; and they who most inveigh against that Sex, contend, that Woman is incapable of those Virtues (in her most eminent) Wisdom, Clemency, variety of Languages, and Magnanimity equal to that of Men, to which I add fervent Zeal of Piety and true Religion. But in these things peradventure some one or other may equal her. What I shall beyond all this speak of her (and let me speak it without offence to my most Excellent Sovereign *James*, the Pattern of Princes, the Mirrour of our Age, the Delight of *Britain*) no Age hath hitherto parallel'd, nor (if my Augury fail not) none ever shall: That a Woman (and if that be not enough) a Virgin, destitute of the help of Parents, Brothers, Husband, being surrounded with Enemies, the Pope thundring, the *Spaniard* threatening, the *French* scarce dissembling his secret hate, as many of the neighbouring Princes as were devoted to *Rome*, clashing about her, should contain this Warlike Nation not only in Obedience, but in Peace also, and (beyond all this) Popery being profligated, in the true Divine Worship. Hence it comes to pass, that *England* (which is among the rest of it self a Miracle) hath not these many years heard the noise of War; and that our Church (which she found much distracted) transcends all others of the Christian World. For you shall at this day scarce find any Church, which either defiled with Popish Superstitions, or despoiled of those Revenues which should maintain Professors of the Truth, hath not laid open a way to all kind of Errours, gross Ignorance in Learning (especially Divine) and at length to Ethnick Barbarousness. But to what end do I insist on these or the like, they being sufficiently known even to the *Barbarians* themselves, and Fame having trumpeted them throughout the World. Which things, when and how they were done, how bountifully she aided and relieved her Allies, how bravely she resisted, brake, vanquished her Enemies, I have a desire in a continued History to declare, and will (God willing) declare, if I can attain to the true intelligence of the passages of those times, have leisure for the compiling it, and that no other more able than my self (which I wish may happen) in the mean time engage themselves therein.

L A U S D E O.



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